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A Berlusconi Cabinet Is on the Way Conflict-of-Interest Issue for Tycoon Remains Unresolved

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches
ROME — President Oscar Luigi Scalfaro announced Wednesday that he would summon Silvio Berlusconi to his palace on Thursday, and he is expected to name Mr. Berlusconi as Italy's next prime minister.
A presidential statement said Mr. Berlusconi, who led a conservative Freedom Alliance to victory in elections last month, had been summoned to see Mr. Scalfaro at 5 on Thursday afternoon.
The brief statement ended a day of expectation that Mr. Berlusconi, owner of Italy's third largest private business empire, would be offered the appointment on Wednesday.
No reason for the delay was given either by Mr. Scalfaro's office or Mr. Berlusconi. But state television said Mr. Berlusconi had himself requested time to come up with a formula that would allay widespread political concern over possible conflicts between his vast business interests and the job of governing Italy.
Mr. Berlusconi conferred with allies in his coalition on Wednesday as he waited for the expected go-ahead from Italy's president to form the country's first conservative government in its postwar history.
Mr. Berlusconi denied that questions over his media empire were holding things up. "I'm not aware of any problems of any kind," he said. "It's just taking the necessary time."
But comments from coalition allies indicated that some uneasiness remained.
Besides Mr. Berlusconi's four-month-old Forza Italia, the prospective government in-

cludes the National Alliance, a rightist party recently formed from a neofascist one, and the federalist Northern League, which is popular in the north for its anti-corruption, anti-bureaucracy stand.
On Tuesday, Mr. Berlusconi said "good sense" would take care of any problem about his media empire, which includes Italy's three biggest private TV networks, a popular news-weekly, film production and publicity companies.
He rejected the idea, raised by some critics, of a kind of blind trust to run his business empire while he runs the country.
Another proposal has been the creation of a post for someone who would "guarantee" that his holdings, which also include real estate and Italy's largest supermarket chain, would not benefit from special treatment by a Berlusconi government.
But Mr. Berlusconi has shrugged off that idea, saying Parliament could do the job of watchdog.
Some of his allies appeared less than convinced.
"Today, there isn't anything that can give guarantees, because the antitrust laws are weak and you just can't leave it up to good sense," said Francesco Speroni, the Northern League's leader in the Senate. "The problem of guarantees exists — and how — it's just that Berlusconi put them aside. Since he's dying to be premier, he either overcomes or shelves the problems."
But another Northern League leader, Ro-

berto Maroni, predicted that Mr. Berlusconi would succeed in putting together a government, and would do so by May 10.
Nearly a half-century of centrist governments dominated by the Christian Democrats and bolstered by Socialists were swept away in parliamentary elections by the coalition spearheaded by Mr. Berlusconi.
Gone from Parliament are the powerbrokers, victims of a two-year kickback scandal involving politicians and business figures all over the country.
Mr. Berlusconi's coalition has a majority in the Chamber of Deputies and is just shy of a majority in the Senate.
Mr. Scalfaro signaled on Tuesday that Mr. Berlusconi would be his choice after three days of talks on a new government at which the magnate's allies endorsed him for office.
The president said he would act "in absolute respect for the popular will" as expressed in general elections last month, when Mr. Berlusconi led his conservative Freedom Alliance to victory.
In response to the demand by his allies and opponents alike for guarantees that his private interests would not conflict with the premiership, Mr. Berlusconi said on Tuesday night: "I don't yet have a convincing solution but I would say that the solution probably lies in common sense."
He said parliamentary, public and media vigilance and Mr. Scalfaro's ultimate veto on legislation would ensure that his actions were not colored by his own interests. (Reuters, AP)



Voters living up Wednesday in Alexandra township on the outskirts of Johannesburg.

New Voters By Millions Jam Polls in South Africa

Mandela Makes History; The Police Arrest 31 Over Series of Bombings

By Paul Taylor
Washington Post Service
JOHANNESBURG — Millions of South Africans cast off the burdens of their past on Wednesday as they endured long lines with patient reverence to reconstitute their nation into a multiracial democracy.
"At long last we are human beings," said Mphahlele Rametse, a resident of the black township of Alexandra, after he had taken part in the first election in which his country allowed him to vote. "The destiny of our country is in our hands."

The historic occasion was marred by a car bomb that exploded at Johannesburg's international airport, wounding 18 people moments after polls opened, and by widespread logistical problems that kept millions of voters waiting in lines for up to 10 hours. For some, the wait was fruitless because their polls never opened.
In order to accommodate the outpouring of voters before the scheduled close of polls Thursday night, election officials have extended voting hours, declared Thursday a second national holiday and begun the emergency printing of 9 million extra ballots. They have also reserved the option of extending the voting into Friday.

Nevertheless, there was already a political storm brewing over the fact that special ballot stickers bearing the name of a late entrant to the race, the Zulu-based Inkatha Freedom Party, did not arrive at many polling stations. The Inkatha leader, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, threatened symbolically to withdraw from the campaign if the problem was not rectified.

Despite its frustrations, the first full day of voting in South Africa's first universal suffrage election amounted to a kind of national catharsis. In many areas, blacks and whites stood side by side in the same line — an illegal act during the depths of apartheid.

"I am about two inches taller than before I arrived," said Archbishop Desmond Tutu, the 1984 Nobel Peace Prize winner, after he cast his ballot. "It's an incredible experience, like falling in love."

Nelson Mandela, president of the African National Congress, said, "This is for all South Africans, an unforgettable occasion."

Mr. Mandela is expected to emerge from the voting as the country's first black president. "We have moved from an era of pessimism, division, limited opportunities, turmoil and conflict," he said. "We are starting a new era of hope, reconciliation and nation building."

Mr. Mandela, who spent 27 years in jail, voted for the first time at age 75.
For the second day in a row, there was no sabotage or violence at the roughly 10,000 polling stations. "They're the safest places in the country," said President Frederik W. de Klerk, referring to a special deployment of more than 100,000 policemen and soldiers to secure the voting.

The only major security breach of the day was a car bomb that exploded just outside the international departures terminal of Jan Smuts Airport. Three among the 18 wounded were injured seriously, authorities said.

On Wednesday afternoon, the police announced the arrest of 31 suspects in connection with that blast and a series of others in the Johannesburg area in the last three days that have killed 21 people and wounded more than 170.

Two of those arrested are policemen, one on active duty and the other a reservist. An undisclosed number are members of the so-called Iron Guard of the Afrikaner Resistance Movement, the largest white extremist group in the country.

Police Commissioner Johan Van Der Merwe, in announcing the arrests, said they demonstrated the "will, the commitment and the ability of the South African police to maintain law and order."

The arrests drew praise from the ANC, normally a staunch critic of the police.
The logistical problems surrounding the vote, if unresolved on Thursday, had the potential to balloon into a major political crisis.

The Independent Electoral Commission, the multiparty, multiracial body running the election, estimated that in the country's most populous region, surrounding Johannesburg, some 30 percent of the polling stations never became fully operational. The problems ranged from ballots and other voting material never arriving, to ballot papers running out and ballot boxes becoming overfilled.

For the most part, voters endured the long lines with equanimity. Having waited a lifetime, most were willing to wait a few hours, even in heat, dust and rain in some areas.

When Mrs. Harriman backed out of the deal, Mr. Ogden says, he was happy to back out, too. But when Mrs. Harriman and her lawyer refused to offer him anything for his time spent, he signed on to write his own book.
He fleshed out his interviews with Mrs. Harriman, which he decided to use strictly as background material, by contacting hundreds of colleagues and former friends and

says, in response to a biography being written by Sally Bedell Smith. She offered him 50 percent of the book's revenue, a generous sum for a ghostwriter, and once Mrs. Harriman agreed to "tell the complete story," according to Mr. Ogden, he agreed to take on the three-year project.

Problems started when Random House offered \$1,625,000 for her story, and the respectable grande dame of the Democratic Party grew concerned that she would have to reveal the most intimate details of her life for that colossal price.

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'Large Payments' in Schneider Affair

By Alan Friedman and Brandon Mitchever
International Herald Tribune
FRANKFURT — Investigators working for the company of the missing German property developer Jürgen Schneider disclosed Wednesday that they had found records of what they believe are bribes paid by Mr. Schneider to appraisers that allowed him to inflate the value of his properties.
The properties, in turn, were used as collateral to obtain some of the 5 billion Deutsche marks (\$3 billion) of bank loans that are at the heart of what is alleged to be one of Germany's largest cases of credit fraud.
The information was uncovered over the weekend of April 8-10, during a joint examination of the Schneider company's records made by company executives and eight officers of Deutsche Bank AG, Deutsche Bank is the leading bank creditor of the Schneider company, Dr. Jürgen Schneider AG.
This is the first time that anyone involved in the investigation of the property company has provided information that lends weight to the suspicion that a ring of outsiders aided Mr. Schneider.
The names of alleged recipients of what

one company insider called "unusually large payments" were not disclosed; prosecutors in Frankfurt are expected to face a difficult task in trying to distinguish normal payments to Mr. Schneider's scores of consultants from those suspected of having been bribes.
Mr. Schneider, whose biggest companies have since declared bankruptcy, disappeared around Easter and left behind a letter to his fellow board members and his bankers asking the latter to take over the company. This week the Frankfurt prosecutor's office issued a warrant for his arrest on suspicion of fraud and falsification of documents.
"We found big consultancy contracts, some of which were probably legitimate," said one Schneider executive who spoke on condition of anonymity, "but I would not exclude that some were also bribes paid to some outside consultants involved in placing a value on some of the properties used as collateral for bank loans."
On Wednesday, a spokesman for Deutsche Bank, which has 1.2 billion DM of loan exposure to Dr. Jürgen Schneider AG, said the bank had "heard of such payments" from the company's executives and passed their

"suspicions" on to prosecutors. Previously, the bank has limited itself to contending that Mr. Schneider could not have acted on his own in what it described as "credit fraud."
Gahlele Eick, a member of the board of Dr. Jürgen Schneider AG, said Wednesday that she did not know if bribes were made, but she confirmed that Mr. Schneider "was dealing with outside consultants in his banking arrangements."
Two weeks ago, Deutsche Bank filed a complaint with the Frankfurt prosecutor's office alleging that Mr. Schneider committed fraud by falsifying contracts to inflate the expected income from his properties.
Meanwhile, CJP Center Immobilien & Pasingen AG, a Schneider company responsible for sales and management of properties, on Wednesday became the fourth Schneider company to file for bankruptcy.
Also Wednesday, Swiss officials ordered 19 banks in Zurich to freeze any accounts belonging to Mr. Schneider, after similar moves in Geneva on Tuesday.
Hilmar Kopper, the chairman of Deutsche Bank, said Monday that Mr. Schneider had absconded with 219 million DM.

Belgium's Arch Survivor Becomes Contender for the Top EU Job

By Tom Buerkle
International Herald Tribune
BRUSSELS — As the leader of a Belgian coalition hanging onto power by a thread, Jean-Luc Dehaene might appear an unlikely candidate for president of Europe.
But as Belgium's major challenges — social and political separatism, massive public debt and unemployment — increasingly resemble those facing the European Union, Mr. De-

haene's tenacity and talent for compromise have made him the leading candidate to succeed Jacques Delors as president of the European Commission, the EU's executive body.
"Belgian politics are just like EU politics," a Belgian analyst said. "The obvious takes 15 years to do because it is so hard to get a consensus."
Although Mr. Dehaene is relatively unknown

compared with his main rivals, Prime Minister Ruud Lubbers of the Netherlands and Sir Leon Brittan of Britain, the EU's trade commissioner, "one has to say that getting some cohesion in the Belgian government, even in the short term, must say something about him," said Stanley Crossick, head of the Belmont European Policy Center in Brussels.
Perhaps more important, Mr. Dehaene is credited with getting some cohesion back into

the Union itself during Belgium's EU presidency in the second half of 1993.
He resolved a two-year fight over the location of a dozen EU institutions, including a European central bank, and presided over the acceptance of the Treaty on European Union, ending a yearlong debate, as well as a reconciliation between France and its EU partners over world trade negotiations.
Those achievements, combined with some

dissatisfaction with the other candidates, have made him the favorite choice of leaders such as Chancellor Helmut Kohl and President François Mitterrand to succeed Mr. Delors at the end of this year, German and French sources say. Although apparently surprised when Bonn put his name in play, Mr. Dehaene "has let it be known to the powers that be that if asked, he

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Kiosk Spying by U.S. Is Up, Yeltsin Says

MOSCOW (Reuters) — President Boris N. Yeltsin accused American intelligence services on Wednesday of stepping up operations in Russia and said Moscow would defend its right to take countermeasures, the press agency Itar-Tass said.
According to the report, Mr. Yeltsin said outside forces had become "irritated" by Russia's increasingly independent foreign policy.
"U.S. intelligence is stepping up efforts to obtain agents in Russia," the agency quoted Mr. Yeltsin as saying, "but U.S. special services do not think the Foreign Intelligence Service and their military colleagues have the right to do the same."

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Dow Jones	Trib Index
Closed	Up 0.34%
	112.24
The Dollar	
New York	Wed. close
DM	1.6723
Yen	1.5045
FF	1.5057
	102.805
	5.7345
	5.7356

Newsstand Prices	
Bahrain	0.800 Din
Cyprus	0.800 Din
Denmark	14.00 D.Kr.
Finland	11 F.M.
Gibraltar	0.85
Great Britain	0.85
Egypt	E.P. 5.000
Jordan	1 J.D.
Kuwait	500 Fils
Malta	35 C.
Nigeria	30.00 Naira
Norway	15 N.Kr.
Oman	1,000 Rials
Qatar	8.00 Rials
Rep. (Israel)	0.85
Saudi Arabia	9.00 R.
South Africa	0.85
U.A.E.	8.50 Dirh
U.S. Mil.	(Eur) 181.10
Zimbabwe	20.00

Japan Stares at Stalemate Hata to Take Office With Little Power

By James Sterngold
New York Times Service
TOKYO — A minority government unable to deal with the country's deep economic problems — something many Japanese have dreaded — became the likely reality Wednesday after two days of inconclusive political hickering.
Prime Minister-elect Tsutomu Hata tried but failed to mend his party's rift with the Socialists, who quit the governing coalition Tuesday, depriving it of its majority in the Diet, or parliament. The Socialists were angered that more conservative parties in the coalition, including Mr. Hata's, had united to resist any leftward turn in the government's economic or security policies.
Mr. Hata, whom the parliament elected as prime minister Monday, before the Socialists quit, was to be formally appointed by Emperor Akihito at the Imperial Palace Thursday morning. He would be Japan's sixth prime minister in five years marked by corruption scandals and a far-reaching political realignment.

After his appointment, Mr. Hata was scheduled to confer with Tomichi Murayama, the head of the Socialists, in a last-minute reconciliation, he was then to name a cabinet that would give Japan its first minority government since the tumultuous early 1990s.
Such a government would probably be unable to push through any bold legislation on critical issues Japan is facing, such as its recession, American demands for open markets in trade and North Korea's suspected nuclear-weapons program.
Japan begins a week of holidays Friday, after which the parliament is expected to pass the overdue budget for the fiscal year that began April 1. The Socialists helped draw up the budget and so are expected to support it.
After that, the prospect is for growing ideological strife and perhaps a new election, just before a meeting of the Group of Seven industrial nations in July and a self-imposed deadline
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Fifty Years After D-Day

On Friday, the International Herald Tribune begins a series of articles called "Fifty Years After D-Day: The Future of the American-European Relationship." The articles are about how the partners have become both closer and more divergent in the last half-century, and how their relationship, redefined and reinvigorated, can provide the energy and intelligence to prosperity and stability.
The first article, appearing in Friday's edition, will set the stage for the series. It will be written by Jim Hoagland, the Pulitzer Prize-winning columnist and associate editor of The Washington Post.

On Monday, and then in subsequent weeks until June 6, Europeans and Americans will be presenting often opposing views on such issues as security, economic restructuring, the impact of technology on governments' effectiveness, culture, race ethnic division and diversity.
The writers come from all areas. They include Zbigniew Brzezinski, Karl Oton Pöhl, David Calleo, Francis Fukuyama, James Follows, Frank Schirrmacher, Jonathan Eyal, Jean-Marie Guéhenno, Richard Grenier, Michael Stürmer and others.
The series will bring remarkable insight and analysis to the pages of the IHT.

Pamela Harriman Biography Focuses on Famous Men in Her Life

By Martha Sherrill
Washington Post Service
WASHINGTON — She fell for her first older, married, rich man when she was just 17, and, according to a new unauthorized biography of Pamela Harriman, the United States ambassador to France has enjoyed the company of many powerful partners since, each older and richer than the last, with one prominent exception.
The chapter headings of Christopher Ogden's "Life of the Party" are all named after men — ("Fred, Bill and Jack," "Gianni," "Frank") — except for the last chapter ("Madame Ambassador"), which describes how, as the supply of older and richer men ran out, Mrs. Harriman became increasingly serious about being serious, parlaying her formidable political skills and street smarts into a position of power within the Democratic Party, finding stability and a certain credibility all her own.

Mrs. Harriman, 74, has refused to comment on the book, which is partly based on 40 hours of taped interviews with her. According to several sources, she is extremely unhappy about it, wishing the book had spent more pages on policy and fewer on her romantic life.
"Until the last 10 years, her world was largely defined by the men she was with," Mr. Ogden said in an interview. "In addition to being a woman of substance and an ambassador doing well, Pamela is also widely known as the courtesan of the century. That's a part of her life, and it shouldn't take away from what she is now."
Indeed, according to "Life of the Party," Pamela Digby Churchill Hayward Harriman lived a full and somewhat controversial life in the 1940s, '50s and '60s, receiving financial support from lovers, an alleged annual allowance of \$20,000 for many years from the then-married W. Averell Harriman, and an apartment in London from the Fiat scion Gianni Agnelli.
Mr. Ogden says she was not particularly motivated by money, though. Obsessed with stories of her 19th-century ancestor, Jane Digby, the life-loving mistress of kings and

sheikhs, young Pamela set out to have an exciting, glamorous life. She did not seek power of her own so much as a chance to be around it.
"I think it gives her a kind of rush," Mr. Ogden said.
As a young married woman during World War II, while her husband, Randolph Churchill, was off fighting, Pamela lived at No. 10 Downing Street with her father-in-law, Prime Minister Winston Churchill, and became romantically involved with several married men — Mr. Harriman, William S. Paley, John Hay Whitney, Edward R. Murrow — as well as two important generals, Frederick L. Anderson, head of the U.S. bombing command, and Sir Charles Portal, Britain's chief of air staff.
In a vault inside her Georgetown house, Mr. Ogden says, Mrs. Harriman keeps love letters from three separate participants in the Yalta Conference.
In 1991, Mr. Ogden, then the chief diplomatic correspondent at Time magazine, was selected by Mrs. Harriman to write her official biography. She wanted her story told, he

says, in response to a biography being written by Sally Bedell Smith. She offered him 50 percent of the book's revenue, a generous sum for a ghostwriter, and once Mrs. Harriman agreed to "tell the complete story," according to Mr. Ogden, he agreed to take on the three-year project.
Problems started when Random House offered \$1,625,000 for her story, and the respectable grande dame of the Democratic Party grew concerned that she would have to reveal the most intimate details of her life for that colossal price.
When Mrs. Harriman backed out of the deal, Mr. Ogden says, he was happy to back out, too. But when Mrs. Harriman and her lawyer refused to offer him anything for his time spent, he signed on to write his own book.
He fleshed out his interviews with Mrs. Harriman, which he decided to use strictly as background material, by contacting hundreds of colleagues and former friends and

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Russian investigators inspecting the body of Andrei Aizderdzis, a legislator who was the victim of a gangland-style killing.

Russia's Legislature In Full Cry After Killing of Deputy

By Fred Hiatt
Washington Post Service

MOSCOW — The murder of a member of Russia's parliament provoked an uproar in the legislature on Wednesday and heightened political tensions just ahead of expected May Day demonstrations.

Legislators spanning the ideological spectrum demanded the dismissal of President Boris N. Yeltsin's interior minister, a lieutenant general who heads the national police.

Prime Minister Viktor S. Chernomyrdin, summoned to testify in closed session, rejected the demand.

Other legislators said the killing meant that Mr. Yeltsin's cherished plan for all political factions to sign a "memorandum of national accord" on Thursday should be postponed.

Andrei Aizderdzis, 35, was shot in his home on the outskirts of Moscow on Tuesday evening. Deputies familiar with the crime said it bore the hallmarks of one of Moscow's increasingly common contract killings.

This would be the first time a

politician has fallen victim to such a killing.

Before his election in December to the State Duma, the lower house of parliament, Mr. Aizderdzis worked as a private banker, a profession that has been particularly a target of organized crime here in the last year. Mr. Aizderdzis also published a local version of "Who's Who" that listed local kings of crime and that may have made him a special target, Interfax reported.

But in angry debate on Wednesday, many deputies insisted that Mr. Aizderdzis's murder was a political assassination.

"Judging from first reports, it is clear that this was a contract killing and, in our view, it was a political killing," said Vladimir Medvedev, head of the New Regional Policy faction to which Mr. Aizderdzis belonged.

Mr. Yeltsin quickly issued a statement expressing his "solidarity with the voices of protest among deputies."

"The assassination of the deputy was not only an encroachment on human life, it was against the institution of state power," Mr. Yeltsin said. "I have ordered that urgent measures be taken to discover the killers."

But Mr. Yeltsin also expressed the hope that Duma deputies would take the murder "as a warning against violence."

"Let it unite us as we start looking for accord and calm for Russia and its people," he said.

The impending May Day demonstrations by Mr. Yeltsin's hard-line nationalist and Communist opposition had already made Moscow jittery. Last year, the demonstrations turned violent, and they were followed in October by a full-scale uprising.

Seeking to calm tensions and assert his authority, Mr. Yeltsin had hoped that all major political parties, labor unions and public organizations would sign an accord Thursday forswearing violence. But several major parties, including the Communists and the Agrarians, had already said they would not sign.

Vladimir V. Zhirinovskiy, an extreme nationalist who had supported the Yeltsin accord, said the signing should be postponed because of the murder. Mr. Zhirinovskiy also demanded the dismissal of Interior Minister Viktor F. Yerin and, in a later statement, Mr. Yeltsin's entire cabinet.

WORLD BRIEFS

China Says It May Halt Nuclear Tests

ALMA-ATA, Kazakhstan (Reuters) — Prime Minister Li Peng of China said Wednesday that Beijing might stop testing nuclear weapons by 1996.

"Our government is actively participating in negotiations to abolish nuclear testing by 1996," Mr. Li told journalists during a visit to Kazakhstan, a former Soviet republic that borders China. Mr. Li's remark, which referred to China's participation in international negotiations for a global test ban, was clearly intended to deflect criticism of its nuclear policy. In London, meanwhile, Patricia Lewis, director of the Verification Technology Information Center, said she believed the Chinese were hurrying to complete a series of tests before a global ban was signed.

Chirac Leads Balladur in French Poll

PARIS (Reuters) — The Gaullist leader Jacques Chirac has pulled ahead of Prime Minister Edouard Balladur as the person most likely to win next year's French presidential elections, according to an opinion poll released Wednesday.

The poll put Mr. Chirac ahead of the most likely Socialist contender, Michel Rocard, by 61 percent to 39 percent, and ahead of Mr. Balladur by 59 percent to 41 percent. The term of France's Socialist president, François Mitterrand, ends in May 1995.

It was the first time Mr. Balladur had fallen behind Mr. Chirac in an opinion poll since he became prime minister more than a year ago.

Kuwait Detains 17 Iraqi Boatmen

KUWAIT (Reuters) — Kuwait detained 17 Iraqis found in possession of 22 small wooden and fiberglass boats in the emirate's territorial waters on Tuesday, diplomats said on Wednesday.

The 17 were being held for questioning after their arrest by Kuwaiti coast guardsmen between Kuwait's Warba and Bubiyan islands, the diplomats said. What the 17 were doing there was not clear, but the area is frequently used by smugglers.

It was the first reported Iraqi incursion since November 1993 when hundreds of protesters twice crossed the land frontier to protest a United Nations demarcation of the boundary.

Peres to Meet With PLO in Cairo

JERUSALEM (Reuters) — Foreign Minister Shimon Peres of Israel will hold talks Thursday in Cairo with representatives of the Palestine Liberation Organization and will meet with the U.S. secretary of state, Warren M. Christopher, an Israeli cabinet minister said Wednesday.

Environment Minister Yossi Sarid called the meetings "a supreme effort to solve problems that have mostly been complicated ones, with the clear intention of changing for the first time the reality of the Arab-Israeli conflict."

Mr. Sarid said Mr. Peres would meet with PLO officials after holding consultations Thursday morning with Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin on issues still outstanding in negotiations on Palestinian self-rule. He said Mr. Peres would meet in Cairo with Mr. Christopher, who is on a Middle East tour.

Solidarity Prolongs Protest Strikes

KATOWICE, Poland (Reuters) — The Solidarity union extended strikes in coal mines on Wednesday and announced plans for steel-mill walkouts as well to protest the economic policies of the government.

The union wants the government to drop newly proposed wage controls in the public sector and to speed up an industrial pact aimed at defining the role of workers in the privatization of state-owned companies.

But the government, which withdrew a plan to restructure the soft-coal industry to an effort to end the weeklong strike of lignite workers, said it was not going to bow to pressure again.

British Press Improves, Malaysia Says

KUALA LUMPUR (AP) — A senior Malaysian official said Wednesday that the British press had stopped what his government considered unfair reports on Malaysia and that this could lead to an end of the ban on government contracts for British companies.

Malaysia imposed the ban early this year after British press reports alleged that some Malaysian politicians were demanding bribes for awarding contracts to British companies.

The official, Deputy Foreign Minister Abdullah Fadil bin Che Wan, said monitoring of the British press showed that unfair reports about Malaysia and its leaders had stopped and added that this "is a good beginning." But he said: "It would be pointless if the government lifts the ban now, and then the same thing happens again. We have to give it some time."

Khmer Rouge Stepping Up Pressure

POIPEY, Cambodia (Reuters) — Khmer Rouge guerrillas said Wednesday that they had been ordered to capture two western Cambodians within a month, as fighting between guerrillas and government troops stepped up.

"From now on we will dig in for every inch of territory we capture; no more hit-and-run until we get Siem Reap," said a Khmer Rouge field commander who called himself Comrade Jia. He said senior officials of the Maoist faction had decided last week to launch a fresh assault on government positions and had ordered the capture of Poipey and Siem Reap within a month.

Chinese Official Will Not See Patten

HONG KONG (AFP) — Governor Chris Patten said Wednesday that Lu Ping, China's top official for Hong Kong affairs, had refused an invitation to talk to him when he visits this weekend for the first time in 28 months.

Mr. Patten added, however, that his door remained open for Mr. Lu, who heads the Chinese government's Hong Kong and Macau Affairs Office. China and Britain have been locked in a dispute over greater democracy in the British colony, which reverts to China in 1997.

TRAVEL UPDATE

Roadblock at the Amsterdam Airport

AMSTERDAM (AP) — Dutch policemen erected a roadblock Wednesday at the entrance to Schiphol International Airport after being advised by the Interior Ministry of an apparent threat.

Officials would not confirm a press report that the heightened security measures, including police reinforcements, came in response to the threat of an Islamic militant attack on Israeli, Egyptian or American targets. The United States cautioned Americans about travel in South Africa, warning that there might be bombings and attacks during the country's first all-race vote.

Nigeria's national oil company has been ordered by military authorities to end a 10-day-old fuel shortage which has paralyzed transport. The latest fuel crisis has caused commuter chaos in cities.

President Boris N. Yeltsin has ordered a review of the Russian government's privatization of the former state travel group Intourist, the Itar-Tass news agency said.

Some 10,000 Olympic Airways workers threatened on Wednesday to strike against a restructuring plan which calls for cuts in personnel and pay freezes that the Greek state carrier says are necessary to keep it from closing. "We will lose some 50 percent of our income in the next four years and of course we refuse to accept the plan," said Michalis Perros, Olympic's union president. "If the government insists, there will be strikes in the coming weeks."

For Black Journalists, It's the Story of a Lifetime

By Kenneth B. Noble
New York Times Service

JOHANNESBURG — When National Public Radio refused to assign Phyllis Crockett to cover South Africa's first multiracial elections, the 42-year-old black journalist took a leave of absence and paid her own way.

"I felt about this story so deeply that I knew I had to be here," said Ms. Crockett, who has reported from South Africa on four prior visits and is now a free-lancer. "As dearly as I love NPR, this was a story I just could not miss."

For many black journalists, the elections are the story of a lifetime. So passionate have some felt about being there that they jockeyed editors, lobbied publishers and, in extreme cases, offered to take vacation time and dig into their own pockets to cover a news event that has captured the world's attention.

The results are impressive. Although there are no exact figures, it seems that virtually every major American news organization has at least one black reporter here, and in cases have sent all-black news crews. Altogether, about 3,000 foreign cor-

respondents are here to cover the elections.

What many of these journalists say, and some of their employers seem to acknowledge tacitly, is that black reporters often bring a different insight to stories, like South Africa, that involve racial conflict.

Mary Ann French, a style reporter for The Washington Post, said black reporters often had more "interest and knowledge" about South Africa than their white colleagues. "We tend to have kept up with the history and politics here with more detail," she said.

Until recent years, this did not matter. The story of South Africa's black liberation struggle has been told mostly by white reporters, columnists and editors. As a result, Ms. Crockett and some other black reporters argue that the tone of the coverage has often been unbalanced.

Specifically, some black journalists complain that their white colleagues tend to focus their attention more on the plight of South Africa's relatively small white minority rather than on the concerns of the country's disenfranchised black majority. They also say that too much emphasis has been placed on violence.

"Many of the white reporters really don't feel comfortable going into some of the really black areas such as Soweto or East Rand," Ms. Crockett said.

She added that lifestyle was also a distinguishing factor. "It's a generalization, but I think it is pretty fair," she said. "If you took a survey of American reporters in Johannesburg, you will find that most of them live in and around Sandton, an upper-middle-class suburb, and in some ways it's like they're living on the colonial lifestyle."

Sunni Khalid, a Washington-based reporter for National Public Radio who is covering the election, agrees. "A lot of white reporters identify with Africans about as much as they identify with black Americans, which is not at all," he said.

Mr. Khalid added that white reporters "tend to socialize and identify with the white minority."

"Very rarely do you see them going out and doing stories in the rural areas, for example," he said.

Several black reporters cited a white reporter who works for a major American paper who studied Afrikaans in preparation for his tour here, rather than one of the indigenous black languages like Zulu

or Xhosa. "This reporter made a choice from the very beginning as to who was important in this country, and it obviously wasn't the Africans," one reporter said.

Such judgments trouble many white and black journalists.

Jerey Eddings, the Atlanta bureau chief for U.S. News & World Report, who is one of the few blacks who have been based full-time in South Africa, said: "I know white reporters who have covered this story as well or better than I have. I think you can be a good reporter, dive into any story that you're committed to and you want to do a good job at, and it doesn't matter what color you are."

But Bill Kovach, a longtime reporter and editor who is now curator of the Nieman Foundation at Harvard University, says there is no question that black reporters approach South Africa from a different perspective.

"It's not to say that a good white journalist can't cover the story well," he said. "It's just that there will be an aspect missing because there's no way in hell that a white person can understand exactly what it means to be a black, anymore than a man understands exactly what it means to be a woman."

Japanese Seek Clues to Jet Crash as Toll Hits 262

By Andrew Pollack
New York Times Service

NAGOYA, Japan — Japanese authorities, after their first day of investigation, said Wednesday night that they had not figured out the cause of Tuesday night's fiery crash of a Taiwanese airliner that killed almost all of the 271 people on board.

"We don't know at all," Manabu Matsumoto, chief of aviation accident investigations for Japan's Transport Ministry, said at a news conference here. He said he could not say whether mechanical trouble or human error was at fault.

The China Airlines Airbus A-300, on a flight from Taipei to this industrial city in central Japan, crashed near the edge of the runway and burst into flames at 8:16 P.M. Tuesday. A minute earlier, the pilot had radioed the control tower that he intended to abort his landing and try again, although he offered no reason for his decision.

The death toll from the crash rose Wednesday to 262 when a passenger died in a hospital. There are nine survivors being treated at local hospitals. China Airlines said there were 256 passengers and 15 crew members, not 257 passengers and 14 crew, as reported Tuesday by Japanese authorities.

Nagoya Airport was closed most of the day as dozens of policemen and officials of the Transport Ministry scoured the wreckage of the

plane in search of clues to the accident.

While the evidence is not conclusive, marks on the ground and on pieces of the plane indicate the plane might have hit the ground tail first, Mr. Matsumoto said. That would be consistent with the theory that the pilot was trying to pull back up into the sky.

While Mr. Matsumoto said the investigators had not ruled out any possibility, it seems likely the investigation will focus on two possible causes.

One is that the pilot might have tried to abort the landing too late. It is possible the engines stalled if the pilot tried to pull up too steeply, Mr. Matsumoto said.

Another obvious point of investigation is engine failure, since witnesses, including a flight controller, said they thought they saw both engines on fire. Mr. Matsumoto said the remains of the engines had not been checked yet. Although the plane is made by Airbus Industrie, a European consortium, the engines are made by Pratt & Whitney, a subsidiary of United Technologies Corp. of Hartford, Connecticut.

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The UN High Commissioner for Refugees said Tuesday that 137,000 people had fled Rwanda. About 100,000 have gone to neighboring Burundi. The United Nations estimates that at least 1.3 million people have been displaced within Rwanda.

The officials said a party commission in the southwestern district of Newwied was dealing with two requests to withdraw her membership.

The officials declined to say who had filed the expulsion requests.

Mrs. Seebacher-Brandt, a historian, was dubbed the "Black Widow" by the popular press early this year after a series of interviews and articles that cast her husband, a holder of the Nobel Peace Prize, as being moody and indecisive.

In the latest twist in a struggle between the party and Mr. Brandt's third wife over his legacy, she also alleged that a former top Social Democratic politician and Brandt ally had been a KGB spy.

Her unproven espionage charges were separate from the case of Günther Guillaume, an aide whose exposure as a Communist spy prompted Mr. Brandt to resign as West German chancellor in 1974.

Mrs. Seebacher-Brandt's conservative views have repeatedly put her in conflict with the current generation of Social Democratic leaders, who see themselves as Mr. Brandt's left-leaning political heirs. She has also dined with the party over control of her husband's personal papers.

Epidemics Feared as Bodies Pile Up in Rwanda

The Associated Press

NAIROBI — Fierce fighting raged on Wednesday in Rwanda's capital, where piles of unburied bodies on the streets raised fears of an epidemic.

A United Nations spokesman,

Abdul Kabia, speaking by telephone from the capital, Kigali, said there was intense fighting with heavy weapons and mortars near the UN headquarters and in the center of the capital.

Both the Hutu-run government army and the mostly Tutsi rebel Rwandan Patriotic Front ignored a UN appeal for a cease-fire. Unilateral cease-fires declared by both sides on Monday were broken almost immediately.

Mr. Kabia said the United Nations was still receiving reports of ethnic massacres in government and militia-controlled areas in southern and eastern Rwanda.

Relief workers estimate that 100,000 people have died in the bloodbath that began shortly after the presidents of Rwanda and Burundi were killed in a plane crash on April 6.

"There are still a lot of bodies on the streets," Mr. Kabia said. "The dogs are scavenging the corpses in the streets, and it is a very disturbing and horrifying sight."

He said the United Nations had notified relief agencies to prepare for the possibility of an epidemic

and had put pressure on the warring parties to bury the dead.

Most of the bodies are in army and militia-controlled areas, and the government has been using prison inmates to pick up the corpses and bury them in mass graves.

Thousands at Nixon Funeral

Reuters

YORBA LINDA, California — Millions of Americans observed a national day of mourning Wednesday for former President Richard Nixon, who was driven from office in disgrace but was being buried with the country's full honors.

Thousands of people waited in line through the night outside the Nixon Library and Birthplace in Yorba Linda for a chance to file past his flag-draped coffin before his burial Wednesday afternoon in an elaborate state funeral.

By early Wednesday, more than 30,000 people had already paid their respects in the flower-bedecked lobby of the presidential library not far from the place where Mr. Nixon was born 81 years ago and where he will have his final resting place next to his wife, Pat.

The body of the former president, who died Friday at a New York hospital after suffering a stroke, was to lie in state until only a few hours before his nationally televised funeral.

The ceremony was to be attended by President Bill Clinton, all four living former U.S. presidents and foreign dignitaries representing at least 55 countries.

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Bahrain	1-800-441-1234	Iceland	1-800-441-1234	Paraguay	1-800-441-1234	Trinidad & Tobago	1-800-441-1234
Belgium	1-800-441-1234	India	1-800-441-1234	Peru	1-800-441-1234	United Kingdom	1-800-441-1234
Bermuda	1-800-441-1234	Indonesia	1-800-441-1234	Poland	1-800-441-1234	USA	1-800-441-1234
Bolivia	1-800-441-1234	Israel	1-800-441-1234	Portugal	1-800-441-1234	USA Virgin Islands	1-800-441-1234
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Canada	1-800-441-1234	Kenya	1-800-441-1234	Romania	1-800-441-1234	Venezuela	1-800-441-1234
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THE AMERICAS / UNSEATING THE 'BULLS'

Onetime House Upstart Maneuvers His Way to the Top

By Eric Pianin
Washington Post Service

WASHINGTON — As an upstart new House member in the early 1970s, Representative David R. Obey, Democrat of Wisconsin, raised eyebrows by talking back to the old "bulls" on the House Appropriations Committee who rarely brooked dissent and who ran the committee like a plantation.

When Representative John J. Rooney, Democrat of New York, hissed, "Sit down, you smart-assed young punk" as Mr. Obey rose to support a move to open committee hearings to the public, Mr. Obey startled those in the room by firing back, "Kiss my fanny, you senile old SOB."

Bright, pugnacious and zealously committed to progressive Democratic ideals, Mr. Obey has evolved from bad boy of the committee to one of the most respected and skilled politicians in Congress.

Over the last 25 years, he has helped rewrite the ethical standards and campaign finance laws governing the House, brought relative peace to the once bitter foreign aid debate and honed the Democrats' economic and social message.

Now Mr. Obey, 55, has fulfilled a longtime dream by wrestling control of the Appropriations Committee in an intraparty power struggle with a more senior committee Democrat, Representative Neal Smith of Iowa, who is 74.

Supporters touted Mr. Obey as the candidate of "activism and generational change," a theme that attracted support from more than three-quarters of the large Democratic freshman class.

Legislators said Mr. Obey's victory March 23 resulted from members' desire for more aggressive, reform-minded and politically sophisticated leadership for the tradition-bound and insular panel as well as for changes in spending policy to put even greater emphasis on President Bill Clinton's "investment" initiatives.

"Every new chairman puts his own specific stamp on a committee, and that can be expected in the case of someone as able and energetic as Mr. Obey," said the House speaker, Thomas S. Foley, Democrat of Washington.

Yet as he assumes control of the panel, after the recent death of the former chairman, William H. Natcher, Democrat of Kentucky, Mr. Obey is discovering that change will not come easily to the committee, one of the most powerful and far-reaching in Congress.

Mr. Obey has announced that he will replace the retiring chief clerk of the committee, a key staff position, with Scott Lilly, 47, executive director of the liberal Democratic Study Group and a longtime Hill staff member. But the new chairman appears reluctant to make any other significant changes soon, either in staffing or in the way the committee conducts business. Instead, he is concentrating on mending fences and demonstrating he can move this year's spending bills on time — the ultimate test of a chairman's effectiveness.

"Our mission has been fairly well defined by circumstances," Mr. Obey said in a recent interview. "We've been trying to dig out of the Reagan-era deficit and manage the downsizing of programs while freeing up a tiny bit for the president's programs, and I want to do that in the most collegial and bipartisan way."

Mr. Obey's leapfrog victory over Mr. Smith, a highly regarded but uninspiring veteran appropriator, bruised Mr. Smith's ego and generated hard feelings among many committee members who felt Democrats should have adhered to the seniority system in choosing Mr. Natcher's successor.

One challenge facing Mr. Obey is to find common ground with Representative John P. Murtha, Democrat of Pennsylvania, chairman of the Appropriations defense subcommittee, who spearheaded Mr. Smith's unsuccessful campaign. Mr. Murtha openly criticized Mr. Obey as an explosive personality whose partisan style was not well suited to the chairmanship.

"I didn't think we needed that style that tends to be disruptive," said Mr. Murtha, who favors preserving the status quo in the committee's operations. "He was the one saying he would make reforms. He was the one saying he would get some flak jackets for those guys," a House Democratic aide said.



Representative Obey, left, with President Bill Clinton at a recent White House meeting.

★ POLITICAL NOTES ★

Plan to Cut Firms' Health-Care Burden

WASHINGTON — George J. Mitchell of Maine, the leader of the Senate's Democratic majority, laid out new options to reduce the amounts small businesses would have to pay to provide health insurance to their workers under a modified version of President Bill Clinton's health plan.

The opposition of small businesses to a proposed "employer mandate" requirement that businesses pay 80 percent of premiums for their workers is a major stumbling block to action on health care in both chambers.

At a closed-door luncheon with Democratic senators with some Clinton administration officials present, Mr. Mitchell said later, he outlined three new options to ease the burden on small businesses. He said no decisions were made.

The first was "a complete exemption" for companies with fewer than 10 employees from paying anything toward the premiums for their workers. It is the first time Senate Democratic leaders have looked at a total exemption for any group of employers. He gave no further details and did not release detailed analyses to the press.

But one source said that under this option, the average worker would pay the full premium for himself or herself provided it did not exceed 3.9 percent of income. The employer would have to pay nothing and the average family would pay \$600, with federal subsidies helping pay the rest. John D. Dingell, Democrat of Michigan, the chairman of the House Energy and Commerce Committee, has proposed a similar exemption for these small concerns.

A second option, Mr. Mitchell said, was to offer an additional subsidy to companies with 10 or fewer employees. Under this option, another source said, these concerns would be required to pay a premium for their workers, but it would not exceed \$300 a year for the smallest, lowest-wage companies, less than under the Clinton plan.

The third, he said, would split the premium 50-50 between worker and employer (instead of requiring the employer to pay 80 percent). This shifts about \$400 a year of the premium from the employer to the worker. (AP)

Rose Law Firm Sues to Bar Investigation

LITTLE ROCK, Arkansas — Hillary Rodham Clinton's former law firm filed suit to block efforts by federal investigators to learn the names of every client of the firm since 1983. The lawsuit, filed by the Rose Law Firm, states that a subpoena obtained by the Resolution Trust Corp. on April 18 is "grossly overbroad," and complying would violate clients' privacy.

The firm is asking a U.S. judge in Little Rock for a permanent injunction to void the April 18 subpoena, the fifth served on the firm. The lawsuit also asks that it be declared illegal for the Resolution Trust Corp.'s inspector general to go beyond a previous investigation of potential conflicts of interest involving Rose's work for the corporation and prohibit the inspector general from enforcing any subpoena previously served on Rose. The Resolution Trust Corp. is the agency charged with settling the wave of savings and loan failures of recent years. (AP)

Boren Is Quitting Senate for Academia

WASHINGTON — Senator David L. Boren said Wednesday he was resigning from the Senate to become president of the University of Oklahoma.

"I have come to believe that while the national government has an important role to play, the revitalization of our country will come from the grassroots," said the Oklahoma Democrat. Mr. Boren, 53, will step down at the end of this Congress. (Reuters)

Quote/Unquote

Raymond Flynn, the former mayor of Boston who is now ambassador to the Vatican: "I will not be a candidate for the Democratic nomination for governor of Massachusetts in 1994." (AP)

Grand Jury Indicts Ames In Spy Case

By David Johnston
New York Times Service

WASHINGTON — A federal grand jury indicted Aldrich Hazen Ames on charges of spying for Moscow as the career CIA officer signed a plea agreement accepting life in prison without parole in return for leniency for his wife, according to people involved in the case.

Under the deal, Mr. Ames agreed to help the authorities assess the damage he caused, a lengthy process that began months ago. Those knowledgeable about the case said he was willing to accept the deal to obtain a lighter sentence for his wife, Rosario. She would then be able to be reunited soon with their 5-year-old son, Paul, who is being cared for by relatives in Mrs. Ames's native Colombia.

The scaled indictment is to be disclosed at a hearing on Thursday, when the Ames case is expected to enter their guilty pleas.

The indictment accuses Mr. Ames, 52, of espionage and conspiracy to avoid paying income taxes in connection with failing to report any of the more than \$2.5 million that prosecutors have said Mr. Ames was paid during his 10-year career as a double agent.

Prosecutors are expected to accuse Mrs. Ames, 41, with a lesser espionage offense and an income tax charge that could bring a separate prison sentence of up to six years.

As part of the plea agreement signed Tuesday by the Ames case, government lawyers scheduled the hearing for Thursday morning before Judge Claude Hilton of U.S. District Court, lawyers in the case said.

They are expected to enter guilty pleas, and in a somewhat unusual procedure, Mr. Ames is expected to be sentenced immediately. Mrs. Ames is likely to be sentenced at a later date.

Kevorkian Takes Stand in His Trial

The Associated Press

DETROIT — Dr. Jack Kevorkian testified Wednesday that he had helped a gravely ill man commit suicide last year and defended his action as humane and compassionate.

"Nothing matters but the welfare of the patients, and it was his welfare that motivated my actions," Dr. Kevorkian said.

Dr. Kevorkian could face four years in prison if convicted of breaking Michigan's year-old law banning assisted suicide.

Dr. Kevorkian, 65, a retired pathologist, said he had wanted only to help end the suffering of Thomas Hyde when he hooked him up to a carbon monoxide canister in the back of his van and placed a plastic mask over his face.

Mr. Hyde, 30, suffered from the nerve disorder known as Lou Gehrig's disease that left him unable to walk, talk or feed himself.

Whitewater Inquiry Is Growing More Complex

By Stephen Labaton
New York Times Service

WASHINGTON — The call came through on FBI teletypes around the nation: Wanted — agents with accounting and white-collar experience for the Little Rock, Arkansas, office.

The request is the latest sign that as Robert B. Fiske Jr. enters his fourth month as the independent counsel investigating the finances of President Bill Clinton and his wife, Hillary, he is concluding that the inquiry will take more time and be more complex than he originally thought.

Mr. Fiske never gave a specific deadline, but the initial view among his staff was that the work could be wrapped up this year. But investigators said this week that they now think the examination will stretch well into 1995.

The events covered by the inquiry started in the late 1970s and stretch through this year. It begins when the Clintons became involved with James and Susan McDougal in Whitewater Development Co., continues through the 1980s when Mr. McDougal's savings and loan, Madison Guaranty, teetered and failed, and extends into the circumstances surrounding investigations by the government into Madison last year. Investigators are also examining what the 1992 Clinton campaign knew of links between Whitewater and Madison.

Already, more than 25 FBI agents are working on the case in Little Rock, assisted by a bevy of other officials who have been transferring legal documents into a computer database.

A second group of investigators in Washington has been exploring the circumstances surrounding the suicide last year of the deputy White House counsel, Vincent W. Foster Jr.

As the Whitewater investigation has grown, some defense lawyers and witnesses have complained about some of Mr. Fiske's actions, especially the decision last month to subpoena several White House and Treasury officials to appear before a grand jury.

Several witnesses and their lawyers said that in an effort to send a loud and quick message about its determination, Mr. Fiske's staff has taken some shortcuts in its pursuit of the investigation. Speaking on condition of anonymity, they assert that the grand jury proceeding was intended primarily to show, a step taken to keep Con an interview. They can be turned into a witness for the prosecution far more easily outside the grand jury room. And prosecutors can discover the strengths and weaknesses of a witness before the proceeding, and be thoroughly familiar with the witness's account.

But there are also reasons to not interview witnesses but simply usher them directly into the grand jury room. The most common rationale for such a move is that it gives them less time to try to change their account or connect a false one with other witnesses.

Witnesses and their lawyers have cited what they see as another shortcoming in Mr. Fiske's procedures. Several said that their subpoenas did not ask for any relevant documents, even though they have them and such requests are routine. But an experienced prosecutor said that Mr. Fiske's office could be operating in phases and that the omission might not be significant if press from interfering with the investigation by granting immunity to potential targets in exchange for their testimony.

Few, if any, of the subpoenaed officials had been interviewed by investigators before going into the

Away From Politics

- Six men accused of plotting to ship 2,900 bomb detonators cross-country on a Greyhound bus, then send them to the Irish Republican Army, were acquitted by a federal jury in Tucson, Arizona.
- Discrimination against civilian employees for their "sexual orientation" has been banned by the U.S. Coast Guard, the first military service to adopt such a policy. It was announced by the Coast Guard commandant, Thomas F. Fisher.
- A tornado ripped through West Lafayette, Indiana, demolishing a mobile home park, a venetian-blind factory and two gasoline stations. At least two people were killed and 51 others were injured. (AP, NYT)

Bias at Issue in D.C. Jury Deadlock

Black Suspect to Receive 2d Trial in Killing of White

By Paul Duggan and Cindy Looze
Washington Post Service

WASHINGTON — The trial of a Washington man accused of fatally shooting a Senate aide near Capitol Hill ended with a deadlocked jury after one juror, favoring an acquittal, held out against 11 others in a week of deliberation made tense by a complaint of racial bias.

Edward Ellsworth Evans, 21, accused of first-degree murder in the slaying of Samuel T. (Tom) Barnes, who was white, allegedly approached Mr. Barnes on a street corner two years ago and shot him without provocation. Two self-described friends of Mr. Evans testified that they saw the killing. One said Mr. Evans, who is black, had

spoken moments earlier of wanting to shoot a white man.

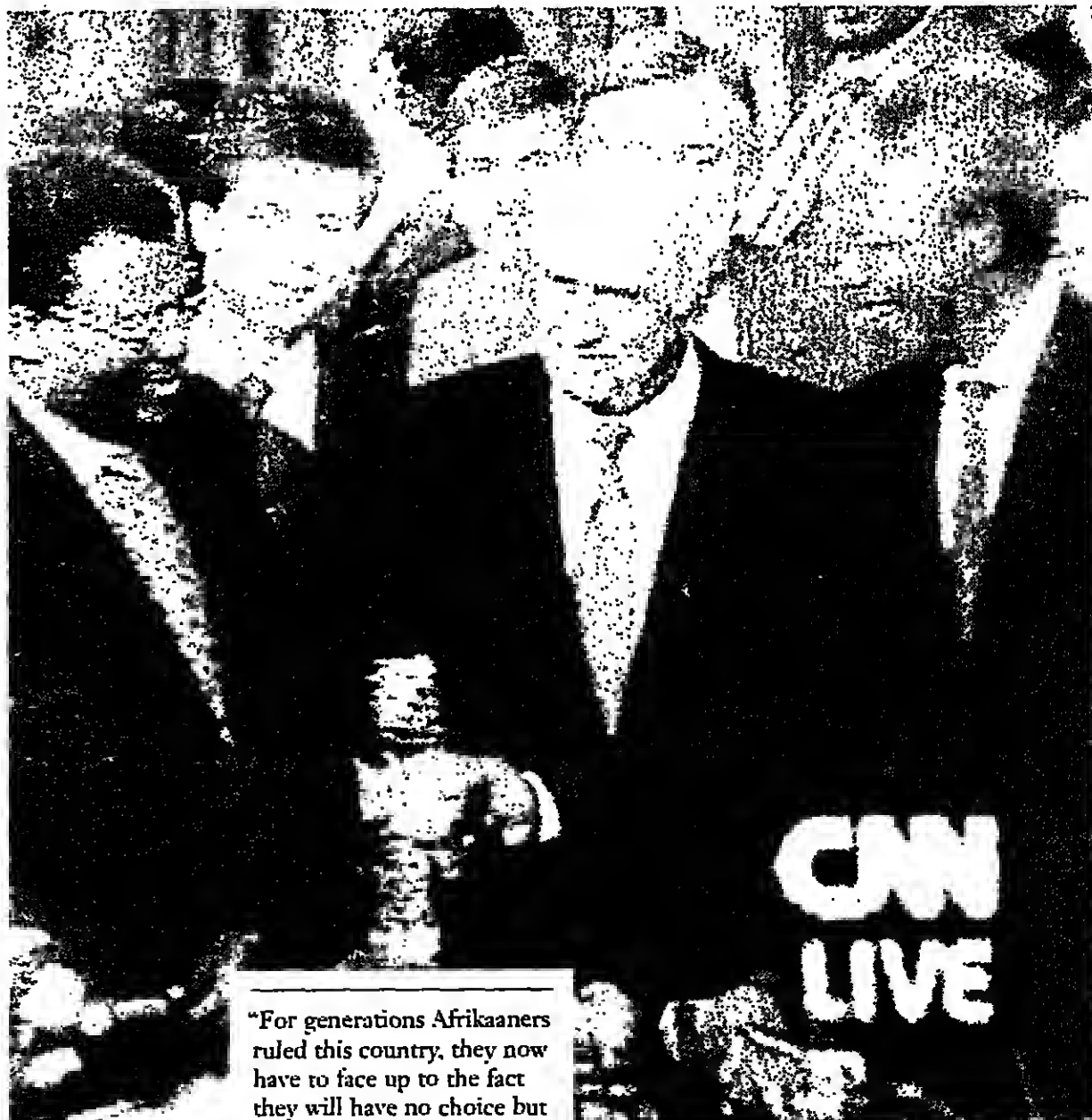
The killing of the Senate aide, who had moved to Washington from Alabama in 1990, gained national attention. An outraged Congress forced the District of Columbia to hold a referendum in November 1992 on reinstating the death penalty for murderers, a proposal that was overwhelmingly rejected by District voters.

For seven days, jurors said, one member of their panel, Velma E. McNeil, a black woman, held out for the acquittal of Mr. Evans. They said she cited inconsistencies in the two witnesses' stories. At one point in the trial, the jury foreman, Robert P. Ilchik, who is white, sent a note to the judge, accusing an unidentified fellow juror of bias.

Mr. Ilchik, 40, an earth sciences researcher, said in his note last Thursday that "one juror" had declared that she could not give credence to the prosecution's evidence or witnesses because she believed the judicial system was unfair to black defendants.

Miss McNeil, 31, an administrative assistant who lives near Capitol Hill, acknowledged after the mistrial Tuesday that she was the juror referred to in the note, but she said her vote in the jury room was not racially motivated.

"Everybody hated me," she said after a mistrial was declared in the D.C. Superior Court case. The note that Mr. Ilchik sent was directed at her, she said, because "he couldn't understand why I was the only one holding out, because me and him were really at each other's throats the whole time."



"For generations Afrikaans ruled this country, they now have to face up to the fact they will have no choice but to share privileges in a new South Africa."

Peter Arnett
CNN Correspondent
Johannesburg

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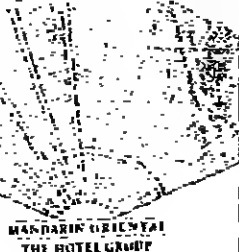
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IN MEMORIAM

We lost
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all have a special thought
for him today.
He will always be remembered.

Herald Tribune

PUBLISHED WITH THE NEW YORK TIMES AND THE WASHINGTON POST

A Naval Presence in Asia

Even as defense budgets shrink around most of the globe, a naval arms race is under way in Asia. Many navies in the region are buying newer and better-armed ships, though none has yet acquired formidable fleets capable of attacking other nations far from their shores.

Washington needs to maintain a U.S. naval presence in the region. That will help ease the security concerns of allies like Japan and South Korea. It will also relieve the pressure on them, and in turn on their neighbors, to accede their naval buildups.

But the Pentagon is going too far. It makes sense to keep an aircraft carrier group based in Japan, in good position to make its presence felt. The U.S. Navy, however, wants to keep another carrier in the Indian Ocean, as it has for a while. That is a needless expense given the limited nature of the mission. That mission can be accomplished more cheaply by using other ships instead.

A number of nations in the Asia-Pacific area are buying modern ships. Some, like Japan, China and India, have sizable fleets. Others, like Indonesia, Taiwan and Australia, have smaller navies and most of their ships are also relatively small—destroyers, frigates, corvettes and other fast, well-armed but short-range craft that can be used to defend coastal waters or to patrol and police coastal waters.

The most capable of the small navies, along with land-based aircraft armed with missiles, can keep more powerful navies from launching close-in attacks. But they are limited in their geographic reach, lacking aircraft carriers, cruisers, attack submarines and large amphibious vessels needed to project force on the high seas or to launch offensive operations against targets on land.

Japan's navy, while growing larger, remains defensive without long-range bombers or ships. China's fleet, while it outnumbers Japan's, sim-

ilarly lacks the ability to project its power into distant places, and the evidence is not convincing that it intends to acquire such capability. India's navy comes perhaps the closest to having a long reach, but its two aging aircraft carriers cannot accommodate landings of fighter planes, just helicopters and Harrier jets.

To keep their competition in check, Washington is right to encourage a security dialogue among all regional actors. And by keeping a carrier based in Japan and a patrolling presence elsewhere, the United States can calm regional rivalries and insecurities, reducing the need for navies to grow.

But Pentagon admirals have turned the case for naval presence into a dubious and wasteful claim to keep 12 carriers in all, when 10 or fewer would suffice, and to construct a new carrier. Despite their imposing look, carrier battle groups do not deliver enormous offensive punch. Because carriers are vulnerable to predators like cruise missiles and torpedoes, most of the aircraft aboard the carrier and all its companion ships—typically six cruisers and destroyers and two submarines—must protect the carrier rather than project power.

Delivering a carrier's bang takes a lot of bucks—about \$4.6 billion to buy the new carrier the navy wants and \$14 billion more for its complement of ships and aircraft. Operating a carrier battle group costs an additional \$900 million a year. By the navy's rule of thumb, moreover, it takes at least four carriers to keep one on station—one in transit, one on home leave and one in repair.

A battle group centered on an amphibious assault ship with helicopters and Harrier jets on board could flex U.S. muscles at much less cost. So would other groups of surface ships armed with Tomahawk cruise missiles. Keeping a naval presence in the Pacific is no reason to buy more carrier battle groups than the navy needs.

—THE NEW YORK TIMES

Stick With the Salvadorans

In the second round of El Salvador's first democratic elections in modern times, the United Nations and other observers prodded the government into easing some of the snags that had cut into the left's vote in the first round. The results were pretty good for a country that just a few years ago was being torn apart by a vicious, foreign-aided civil war.

Never a majority, the left (including the old guerrillas) got too few votes to elect its presidential candidate, the democrat Ruben Zamora—which would have convulsed the country, anyway. But the left did get enough votes to make itself the legitimate institutional opposition in the legislature—an outcome validating its abandonment of armed struggle.

The rightist ARENA went into the elections under President Alfredo Cristiani as the party that had ended the war and started to revive an economy in ruins. Its record of peace and progress, not its manipulations, accounted for its 2-to-1 margin and its democratic confirmation in power. Its leader, Armando Calderon Sol, is a former San Salvador mayor trying in a hard country to set himself off from ARENA's death-squad origins. Call his

victory a win for stability and a bet on justice. He is starting by extending a hand of reconciliation to the left. He should continue by backing the "Joint Group" set up by El Salvador and the United Nations to investigate fresh instances of political violence.

In the 1980s it was said in despair in the American policy debate that there was no democratic center to build up in El Salvador, only extremists of the left and right. Displaying a measure of bipartisanship notably lacking in respect to Nicaragua, the United States took a chance otherwise. The elections suggest it succeeded. The differences between the two big parties are relatively slight compared with the difference between those who would resolve political disputes democratically and those who would do so by force.

The multiple distractions of a great power are already blurring the American Cold War focus on El Salvador. Promised aid is way down. Sensing American disinterest, Salvadorans stiffen. The United States ought to stick with the Salvadorans and help them get out of the economic pit the war dug.

—THE WASHINGTON POST

On 'Breast-Saving Surgery'

When the unimpressive news was reported last month that research fraud had been detected in a major 1983 study of breast cancer surgeries, scientific authorities hurried to assure women that the main conclusion of the study was still reliable. It is considerably more helpful to learn now that an independent study has just been published reaching the same conclusion. It is part of an ironic benefit of the uproar over the fraud discovery: an outpouring of new information and publicity from doctors reiterating the solidity of the lumpectomy data, part of an enormous increase in the visibility of discussions of breast cancer and its treatment.

The original study's conclusion—one that was inextricably linked to the tremendous improvement and humanization of breast cancer treatment in the past decade—was that partial or "lumpectomy" surgery, followed by radiation therapy, leads to five-year survival rates just as high as, or higher than, removal of the whole breast. The new study, in the *Journal of the American Medical Association*, is by a University of California-Irvine researcher and is described as having been complete before but hurried to publication because of the fraud flap. It is not the only source of information: A revised version of the earlier study, minus the evidence drawn from the 15 percent of patients

whose doctor is accused of fraud, is awaiting publication from the original journal; other scientists cite as many as six independent studies showing the benefits of what is called "breast-saving surgery."

That in turn could help women in the difficult process of deciding which kind of breast cancer surgery to undergo and, maybe more important, help transmit the word to farther-flung doctors and medical schools to whom even such major changes in treatment sometimes penetrate only slowly. Bad as the fraud episode was scientifically—especially since it came after years of ostensibly raised consciousness in the science establishment about misconduct—it is probably as psychology that such an episode is most debilitating. Breast cancer's incidence, detection and treatment are still matters of confusion and divided opinion even among doctors, let alone among women trying to parse the conflicting accounts. The fraud episode and the aftermath could help the situation by underlining that, in all this uncertainty, on lumpectomy as on some other points, there is at least a clear medical view taking shape. It is one more reason fraud allegations should be fully aired and dealt with openly.

—THE WASHINGTON POST

Other Comment

Mandela's Economic Task

Nelson Mandela will not inherit a healthy, well-run economy from South Africa's white community. The economy has been badly damaged by decades of mismanagement and is barely able to generate the growth needed for the country's difficult political transition.

The immediate economic task facing the new South African government will be to reassure the nation's middle-class whites and

the business community to slow the flight of capital and people and to encourage business investment.

To achieve political stability and reduce violence, Mr. Mandela must begin to meet black expectations. He needs money for black education, health, housing, sanitation, electricity, water and jobs. But this spending must be financed in a way that does not destroy investment and growth.

—The Australian Financial Review (Sydney).

South Africa: The Prognosis Is Surprisingly Good

By Craig Charney

JOHANNESBURG — Just before Nelson Mandela debated President Frederik de Klerk earlier this month, I asked one of Mr. Mandela's advisers, "Are you nervous?"

"Of course," he replied with a chuckle. "After all, he's only 40 points ahead!"

As South Africans vote in their first multiracial elections this week, the question is not who will win but what it will mean.

The African National Congress is a sho-in—but will real democracy replace white minority rule?

Despite months of tension during the campaign, terrorism in recent

days and the anti-apartheid movement's protests, boycotts and general strikes demonstrated that Mr. de Klerk could not ignore it. But neither could ANC followers wish away the National Party, with its strong base in the white, Indian and mixed-race communities.

True, polls show that the most important factor in South Africa's voting preferences remains racial and ethnic identity. Around 75 percent of blacks support the ANC, while the majority of whites back the National Party. In the mixed-

The National Party's formula? Investor confidence, aid to small businesses and controlling inflation.

Surveys show that blacks and whites have a remarkably similar outlook. Both groups tend to be conservative on values, liberal on economics. Most blacks and most whites favor respect for authority and the work ethic, and oppose abortion. But there is also support for active government, a welfare safety net and stricter pollution controls.

Signs of a common nationalism can be found even in TV ads and on billboards, which increasingly show blacks and whites working and socializing together.

Judging by polling results and anecdotal evidence, most black South Africans display remarkable good will toward whites.

Whites, though nervous, are also getting used to the changes. Two-thirds of them voted in 1992 in a referendum for a negotiated political settlement. And in a survey last month, 90 percent said they "could accept an ANC-led government, if it lets us get on with our lives."

The democratic transition nevertheless seemed imperiled by ethnic violence, until the Zulu-based Inkatha Freedom Party agreed last week to take part in the election.

In March, a few thousand armed Inkatha marchers paralyzed down-

town Johannesburg and clashed with the ANC in an incident that left 34 dead. More than 300 people have died since then in Inkatha's home province of Natal.

But the "Zulu threat" that until recently dominated U.S. news coverage of the elections has probably been exaggerated all along.

The dramatic TV images of weapon-laden Zulus facing armored personnel carriers in Natal obscured the fact that Inkatha supporters number perhaps 7 percent of the population, and are in the minority among Zulus.

According to UN observers, 85 percent to 90 percent of the country remained peaceful in the months leading up to the election.

By focusing on the violence in Natal, the media also failed to note the momentum the electoral process had developed around the country.

Millions have followed the campaign through TV, radio, newspapers or contact with door-to-door canvassers. Only 3 percent of eligible voters were missed by nonpartisan voter education campaigns.

Nor has the momentum been halted by recent terrorist attacks.

Of course, it would be naive to think that South Africa's first taste of democracy has had no sour moments. Both the National Party and the ANC had meetings disrupted and supporters intimidated. The situation has been worst in Natal

Province, where 40 percent of blacks live in areas where either the ANC or the Inkatha Freedom Party could not campaign freely because of violent opposition.

South Africa has a long history of racism and intolerance, and it will take time for it to be cured.

After the vote, Mr. Mandela's government will face greater challenges. Billions will be needed to address the desperate basic needs in black communities, such as housing, water, electricity, schools and health care.

The situation is complicated by South Africa's increasing foreign debt, government mismanagement of the economy and the lingering effects of international sanctions, all of which have helped push per capita income down to 1967 levels.

The government's capacity to meet basic needs will depend on its ability to restore growth and move from an economy based on gold, coal and diamond exports to a value-added economy, one based on manufacturing for export, as in other middle-income countries such as Mexico and Brazil.

Yet it must be remembered that South Africa is a Third World country. It should be judged accordingly.

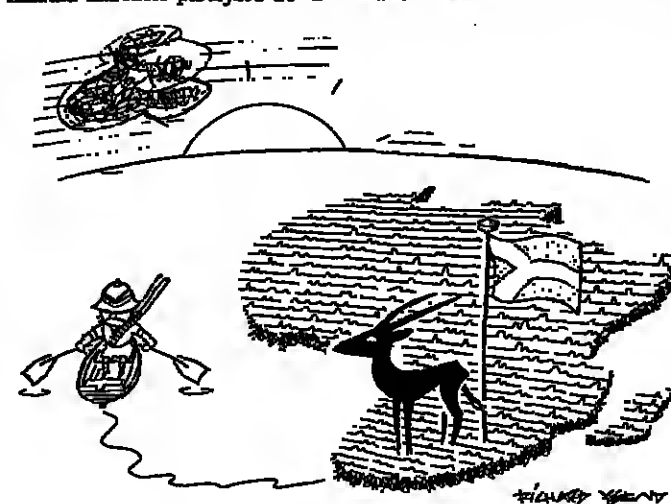
While it is true that 10,000 people have died here in political clashes since 1990, the wonder is not that the transition from apartheid to democracy has been so violent but that it has been so peaceful.

Compared with other Third World countries, South Africa is fortunate to have relatively strong parties, responsible leaders and an emerging political system that has institutionalized mutual respect born out of collective organization and struggle.

During the uncertain months before the election, inspiration has alternated with despair.

As South Africans vote, there is more reason to hope for democracy than to fear a descent into chaos.

The writer, who teaches political science at Yale University, is studying social movements in South Africa. He directed election polling for the South African Broadcasting Corp. He contributed this comment to *The New York Times*.



Think Again: Bombing the Serbs Can Only Prolong the Agony

By Bernard E. Trainor

CAMBRIDGE, Massachusetts — Although the Clinton-NATO ultimatum on Bosnia has led to a Serbian pullback from Gorazde, it has put compassion on a collision course with reality.

While the United States and Russia pledged Tuesday to strive for a diplomatic solution to the war, that solution must recognize the Serbs' supremacy on the battlefield.

Spreading the protective wing of NATO airpower over the Muslim enclaves has ended the slaughter at Gorazde, as it did at Sarajevo. But the move is strategically and militarily irrelevant.

A Serbian cease-fire will not change the fact that the Serbs, in a well-planned and executed strategy, have "cleansed" eastern Bosnia of their Muslim enemies. The Serbs drove the Muslims from their land and peened them in valley towns surrounded by Serbian-controlled mountains.

Gorazde and the other towns where the Muslims cluster are called "safe havens" but really are prisoner-of-war camps. Even though the Serbs have stopped shooting into them, the Muslims' plight has not changed.

The Muslims depend on humanitarian aid

delivered by UN forces. But to provide it, the poorly armed blue helmets must negotiate passage with the Serbs.

Even under air attacks, the Serbs can impede, even stop, substantial aid from reaching the "safe havens."

There is no need for the Serbs to capture the isolated towns. Sooner or later, the difficulty of sustaining the aid will make it necessary to evacuate the Muslims to Muslim territory further west. The sooner this deal can be struck, the better. But air attacks will not help.

The Serbs are canny fighters. They can disperse and hide heavy weapons. Supply dumps and command posts can be hidden or located near churches, museums or civilian sites, which are off-limits to bombing.

The Serbs can also strike back. Anti-aircraft ambushes can be expected in the mountains, and aircraft will be shot down, as a British Harrier jet was.

And the harder the Serbs are hit from the air, the more they will have an incentive to retaliate against UN soldiers on the ground.

Despite President Bill Clinton's disclaimers, United Nations and NATO losses in the air and on the ground might well create an irresistible impulse to introduce ground combat forces. Western forces could end up in the very war they have sought to avoid.

Mr. Clinton and Secretary of State Warren Christopher both indicated that air strikes are intended to inflict pain on the Serbs in order to bring them to their senses.

History tells us such thinking is a pipe dream. Since the advent of air power, bombing alone has only stiffened the resolve of a resolute enemy. No political objective has ever been achieved by air power alone.

Misapplication of force can be worse than no force at all. Not only is an air campaign likely to be ineffective, it is bound to raise the Muslims' hopes that NATO, the United Nations and the United States will join the fray in their behalf.

Having suffered and lost so much, they are unlikely to negotiate a settlement based on the status quo if they think the international community will enter the war on their side, especially if Mr. Clinton's proposal to lift the arms embargo comes to pass.

It is a certain prescription for a longer

and bloodier civil war. The Serbs have won that war. The best we can hope is to persuade them to settle for their gains and to press the Bosnians to accept their defeat. Allied energies should focus on that goal, not prolonging the agony through bombing.

The argument that the United Nations, NATO and United States lose credibility in proportion to the size of a Serbian victory is nonsense. The Gulf War is ample evidence of credibility when military action stands a chance of success. That is not the case in Bosnia.

The failure of a just peace is no defeat for the international community. It is the defeat of the notion that outside powers can pacify a bankrupt state festering with age-old animosities.

Not only is Mr. Clinton in danger of making the United States a party to a civil war, by drawing the sword on behalf of the Muslims he would make America morally responsible for the defense and well-being of a million people for a long time to come.

The writer, a retired U.S. Marine general, is director of national security programs at Harvard's Kennedy School of Government. He contributed this comment to *The New York Times*.

No Evidence That Europe Will Do Better on the Next 'Bosnia'

By William Pfaff

BERLIN — Two years ago, the sign scrawled on a wall along "sniper alley" in Sarajevo was "Welcome to Hell." Now the graffiti says "Welcome to 21st Century Europe."

The course of the war in the former Yugoslavia, and the consequences of the European and American failures to deal with it, have lent that forecast its dark plausibility.

Europe's inability to cope with the Yugoslav crisis was due to the European Community members' inability to agree, which was chiefly the result of Germany and France's failure to agree. Had those two reached agreement, Europe might have found a policy.

Its failure to do so may have been decisive. It is not inconceivable that "Europe" today is politically finished: that it was a response to postwar needs, but has now been fatally undermined by German reunification and

the Yugoslav catastrophe. French-German reconciliation motivated and sustained the construction of "Europe" from the 1950s through the 1980s. The agreement and cooperation of these two countries is indispensable to continuing European Union.

Thus, the bedrock and disarmament of French-German opinion, evident in an Aspen Institute conference here last weekend, inspires serious concern about Europe. This bears on the American future as well, since Europe is where preponderant economic and industrial power lies today, more of it than exists in North America.

The French fear that the European Union's expansion to Eastern Europe will mean enlarged German economic and political influence there and will threaten the integrated Western

lizes Eastern Europe, making the East Europeans think they are again in danger of subordination to Russia. It thereby feeds German anxieties, and by doing that, makes France anxious as well.

The French and Germans both insist that Europe must press on toward the Maastricht goal of a monetary union and a common foreign and security policy. This recalls what the French call "laite en avant"—a rushing forward in order to keep from falling over. It is an attempt to foreclose the return to nationalist policies that many fear may be Europe's real future.

Both the French and Germans are pretending that Europe today merely needs institutional progress. They want to believe that when a mechanism is set up to draft a common European foreign policy, such a policy will emerge. It will not. The German and French governments could have a common policy today if they agreed on what to do. The search for a mechanism is a way to avoid addressing the disagreement.

Enlarging the European Union cannot be combined with "deepening" it, which is what the Maastricht program is intended to do. Either

more members are admitted on looser terms, or with several classes of membership, or the existing Union pursues its avowed goal of federal government, with the rest outside. These contradictions have to be addressed, but it is not happening.

The new French-German military unit, the Eurocorps, is camouflage for the lack of a common security policy. It is no answer to the threat of "new Yugoslavias," which is what everyone claims to fear. The Eurocorps, had it existed three years ago, would have contributed nothing to a solution of the present Yugoslav crisis.

If you ask what France and Germany, and "Europe," actually propose to do when a new Yugoslavia occurs—when ethnic war erupts elsewhere in Western Europe's frontiers—there is silence. Ask what they would do if Greece invaded Macedonia or Albania, and there is not only silence but a refusal even to contemplate the possibilities. These are, however, real possibilities—not of 21st century Europe, but of the five years that remain in the 20th century, and perhaps of the eight months that remain in 1994.

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A Welcome Reversal on Biodiversity

By Jessica Mathews

NEW YORK — Two years ago, the Bush administration issued a declaration of its disdain for the Rio environmental summit. Having been forced by public opinion to swallow the global climate treaty, President George Bush and Vice President Dan Quayle, whose Council on Competitiveness was searching for ways to prove its anti-environmental prowess, seized on the biodiversity treaty as something they could safely oppose.

Through a highly selective reading of the treaty, the administration convinced itself that the pact would destroy protection of intellectual property, force mandated technology transfers and seriously undermine American industry. Ignoring the provisions that protected American interests, the administration fanned business's uncertainty about the treaty into active hostility.

Today, the affected industries—drug, seed and biotechnology companies—are urging the Senate to quickly ratify the same agreement. What has changed in the interim is administrations—notably, in this case, vice presidents. Conclusion of the GATT Uruguay Round with satisfactory intellectual property provisions has also helped.

Meanwhile, though, species have

been rapidly disappearing. On current performance, an estimated 10 percent to 25 percent of the planet's biological inheritance will be gone in 25 years, largely from the developing countries where most species live. Quite apart from aesthetic value, investments in conservation are still only a tiny fraction of the commercial value of what is being lost.

For example, genetic diversity supplies \$1 billion per year to American agricultural production through genes that confer pest and disease resistance and adaptability to climate and soil variation. Spending to preserve that diversity is 1 percent of that amount. Similarly, less than \$1 million is spent annually to maintain an international genetic bank for rice, though the value of new varieties to India's production alone is \$50 million per year.

From aspirin to taxol, 25 percent of all drugs are derived from plants. Antibiotics, the foundation of modern medicine, come from microorganisms. Yet with one or two notable exceptions, the pharmaceutical industry has spent nothing in buy or conserve its raw materials.

The biodiversity treaty makes one enormous contribution to reversing this situation. Whereas, before, genetic resources were considered the common heritage of mankind, the treaty establishes countries' sovereign rights to the species they harbor. Countries must provide access to their resources, but they may regulate that access, and they will receive benefits in the form of royalties or technology for species that prove valuable.

The treaty's trade-offs now seem fair and necessary to preserving a valuable resource, yet only three years ago developed countries were insisting on free access to wild species and strict patent protection in all countries. This would have meant that the South's genetic resources would be de facto free of charge and return as expensive, patented products.

Internationally uniform patent laws are touted these days as an almost unquestioned good. Patents do stimulate research and reward investment. But they also freeze technological advance, and therefore economic power, in the hands of those who already have it.

The writer is a senior fellow at the Council on Foreign Relations. She contributed this comment to *The Washington Post*.

IN OUR PAGES: 100, 75 AND 50 YEARS AGO

1894: Striking Miners

NEW YORK — Grave trouble was threatened in Illinois last night [April 26] owing to the march of 4,000 striking miners on Toluca with the object of stopping all work by non-union men. Governor Altgeld ordered out several companies of militia and went himself to Toluca, where he harangued the strikers, beseeching them not to disgrace the State by disturbing the public peace. His speech and the reported approach of troops had a good effect and the miners dispersed. Subsequently in the interests of peace the mine owners closed the pits.

1919: Bucarest Starves

PARIS — Dr. G. Aslan, of Bucarest University, in a communication to the press, gives an account of the distress prevailing in Roumania. Recent private letters describe the situation as grave in the extreme, dominated as it is by privation and misery. M. Antonesco, professor of law at Bu-

carest, writes to his son at Nice: "Bucarest is ravaged by famine and disease; small-pox and typhus claim thousands of victims. Restaurant prices are out of all reason. The most meagre breakfast costs from 30 to 40 francs. I am living chiefly on beans, with meat only once a week. The unhappy peasants have no grain to eat or to plant. The boches have stolen the locomotives and railway cars; railway transport is next to impossible."

1944: Britain Prepares

LONDON — [From our New York edition:] Approximately 50,000,000 persons in the British Isles were isolated from the outside world at mid-night last night [April 27] when all normal travel to points abroad ceased under one of the most drastic anti-spy decrees ever promulgated. From now on until the time when Allied invasion forces have established their positions in western Europe no one may leave this country except on specially approved war business.

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OPINION

Is 'Nixonian Realism' Really Wanted?

By E. J. Dionne

WASHINGTON — What would Richard Nixon have done about Bosnia? That question, asked directly or indirectly, ricocheted across the Sunday talk shows last weekend. It carried an implicit criticism of President Bill Clinton — it has been hard to find a commentary on his foreign policy recently that did not include the word "feckless" — and demonstrated the success of Mr. Nixon's 20-year effort to transform himself from Watergate villain into foreign policy prophet.

There were two things wrong with the question. It implied, first,

Americans mistrust realists like Richard Nixon and yet long to put them in charge.

that a president who succeeds at foreign policy is something like a master chef who knows exactly when to turn up the heat and when to turn it down, which ingredients to use, and in what amounts. This casts the handling of foreign policy as mostly a matter of technique and skill, when what really matters are intellectual and moral choices about underlying assumptions and long-term goals. You cannot get anywhere in foreign policy unless you know where you are going.

Mr. Nixon did, and that's the other thing wrong with the Bosnia question: It implies that if Mr. Nixon had been handling the Bosnia account, he would have come up with a policy pleasing to everyone. This forgets that the Nixon approach to foreign policy was immensely controversial because it was firmly rooted in a controversial world view. Mr. Nixon was the quintessential foreign policy realist. Cool judgments about what constituted America's immediate and long-term interests — as well as his own — guided everything he did. As Henry Kissinger put it delicately on ABC television, Mr. Nixon was "tactically extremely flexible" and not given to "abstract proclamations."

Realism, an honorable foreign policy approach, is unpopular among Americans because its skepticism about the possibility of morality in the international arena goes against our national self-image. The United States thinks of

itself as an ethical power willing to stand for something in the world. Almost all the news reports on Mr. Nixon's death included footage of demonstrators against the Vietnam War who regarded his refusal to end that conflict quickly as immoral. Far less noted were the views of conservative Republicans and Cold War Democrats who followed the lead of the late Henry Jackson. They, too, found Mr. Nixon's approach immoral — or, at best, amoral — even though they disliked the anti-war people as much as Mr. Nixon did. The conservative Republicans and Jackson Democrats alike saw Mr. Nixon's policies toward the Soviet Union as a dangerous accommodation to a fundamentally evil enemy. And many Republicans saw his China policy as selling out to a dreadful regime.

By making such a diverse set of enemies, Mr. Nixon handed the Democrats an opportunity to "moralize" American foreign policy in a way that could unite critics of the Nixon-Kissinger approach, which Gerald Ford continued. Jimmy Carter came up with the answer in his emphasis on human rights. To the left, Mr. Carter spoke about the importance of imposing tough standards of decency on rightist regimes the United States had supported in the past. To the right, Mr. Carter argued that his dealings with the Soviet Union and China would link issues such as arms control with progress on human rights.

This worked for one election, but fell apart in practice because the two wings of the human rights coalition had irreconcilable differences. Mr. Carter gave morality a bad name, much as Mr. Nixon gave realism a bad name. Ronald Reagan picked up the pieces with a new mix: He sounded like a Nixonian realist when compared with Mr. Carter, but came off as a bold moralist, especially toward the "Evil Empire," when compared with Mr. Nixon.

But Mr. Carter's human rights policy, which contributed mightily to Mr. Reagan's subsequent successes, offers an instructive commentary on the limits of Nixonian realism. After the Vietnam War, the United States lost a large share of its moral authority in the world. Nixonian realism's fatal flaw was its failure to recognize that the United States' position in the world

could not be maintained in the absence of what Mr. Nixon himself once called "the lift of a driving dream." By making human rights the core concept of American foreign policy, Mr. Carter helped the United States regain the initiative. Mr. Reagan complained about, and profited from, this policy.

As it turns out, Mr. Nixon's view on Bosnia — reflected in excerpts from his last book, "Beyond Peace," published this week in Time magazine — was highly congenial for those who see a human rights issue at stake in the carnage against the Muslims. Mr. Nixon wrote that he would long ago have lifted the arms embargo against the victims of Serbian aggression and sharply criticized the United States for failing to lead. Mr. Nixon, a learner until the end, casts his call for an expansive American world role in terms that will appeal to those who criticized the foreign policy of his administration in moral terms. Yet it should be remembered that Mr. Nixon spent his whole life arguing that realism, in both domestic politics and foreign policy, was the one reliable guide to action.

That is why America has had so much trouble making peace with Richard Nixon. We Americans mistrust realists (like Mr. Nixon) and yet long to put realists (like Mr.

Nixon) in charge. We claim to love practical men and women who make "tough" decisions, avoid namby-pamby moralism, take the cool, long view. That, Mr. Nixon certainly did. Yet at heart, Americans doubt that realism is enough, and are often appalled at its results — whether in Vietnam, on human rights or, in Mr. Nixon's case, in dealing with domestic adversaries as if they were foreign enemies.

Mr. Clinton was properly generous in his comments on Mr. Nixon's death; this president can relate to someone with so many implacable enemies seemingly willing to do anything to bring him down. Mr. Clinton's approach to the presidency is an odd mirror of Mr. Nixon's: Mr. Nixon sought to "handle" domestic policy so he could be effective in foreign policy. Mr. Clinton is trying to keep a lid on foreign policy so he can turn his energy homeward.

Yet in the end, Mr. Nixon pushed domestic politics to the limit, and ultimately brought himself down. Mr. Clinton is trying to avoid a comparable problem in foreign policy, and a realist's approach akin to Mr. Nixon's seems a plausible way to avoid both weakness and dangerous entanglements. But beware drawing simple lessons from Richard Nixon. His career is the most dramatic commentary we have on the genius of realism, and also on its tragic limitations.

The Washington Post

Let All Who Resisted Come on the 6th of June

By Ellen Goodman

BOSTON — It seems that their feelings are hurt. The Americans, the Brits, the French — all their friends — are throwing a big party on June 6. But the Germans haven't been invited.

It will be the 50th anniversary of D-Day. There will be parachute drops and aerial

MEANWHILE

displays and veterans swarming over the beaches named Utah and Omaha.

President Bill Clinton is coming. So is Queen Elizabeth. So is President François Mitterrand. But Chancellor Helmut Kohl won't be there to commemorate the Allies' assault on Normandy. And frankly, he is feeling left out. So are some of his countrymen.

After all, the Germans were there for D-Day. Without the Germans there would not have been any D-Day at all. If there is to be some historic re-enactment, perhaps some of the old veterans could come out with their hands up. Just for an authentic touch.

But I am being sarcastic and the German government is being serious. Those who object to this closed party explain that they are now a part of democratic Europe, not a fascist enemy. They are asking for some sense of closure on the Nazi era. It is 50 years, after all, they say. Two generations have been born since then. And besides, one man said to a radio reporter, Germans too want to celebrate the day that began "their liberation from Adolf Hitler."

I am not one of those children of World War II veterans who refused to buy a Volkswagen or bridled at a German accent. I do

not believe the sins of the grandparents should be visited on the grandchildren.

But I am queasy at the notion of transforming a historic commemoration of what Dwight Eisenhower called "the Great Crusade" — a day that cost so many lives — into a government celebration of letting bygones be bygones.

What a pain history is at times. We can't live with it. We can't live without it. We are told that those who do not remember the past are doomed to repeat it. But those who can't forget may be doomed as well.

At times it seems to me that the practical need to burn the score cards, the old enemies lists and start fresh is essential. Otherwise we walk through life looking behind us, as if we were being stalked through a dark alley by old adversaries.

But at other times there is a compelling need to remember, to distinguish right from wrong, victim from assailant. To maintain our sense of justice and honor those who upheld it.

On any given day, these messages are in the news: stories about the power of memory and stories about the price of forgetting.

We read of murderous feuds between international Hatfields and McCoys. In Bosnia, people shoot each other in revenge for events that can be traced back 800 years. In the Middle East, Israelis and Palestinians kill each other now in the name of Israelis and Palestinians who killed each other then.

At the same time, all through Europe, there are young, ignorant neo-Nazis painting swastika

on walls. In America, a cult of "revisionists" denies that the Holocaust ever happened. In Japan, young students learn more about Hiroshima than Pearl Harbor. In Italy, a "post-fascist" leader calls Mussolini "the greatest statesman of the century."

I remember nine years ago when President Ronald Reagan visited Bitburg, and, side by side with Helmut Kohl, laid a wreath in a

There is a need to distinguish victim from assailant, to preserve our sense of justice and honor those who died for it.

cemetery where SS soldiers were buried. That gesture did not strike me as a moment of reconciliation but one of moral blindness.

The veterans landing at Normandy this June are senior citizens. The Holocaust survivors are mostly old people, their collective memory soon assigned to museums. The landing may indeed have begun the liberation of Germany from Hitler, but few Germans thought so in 1944.

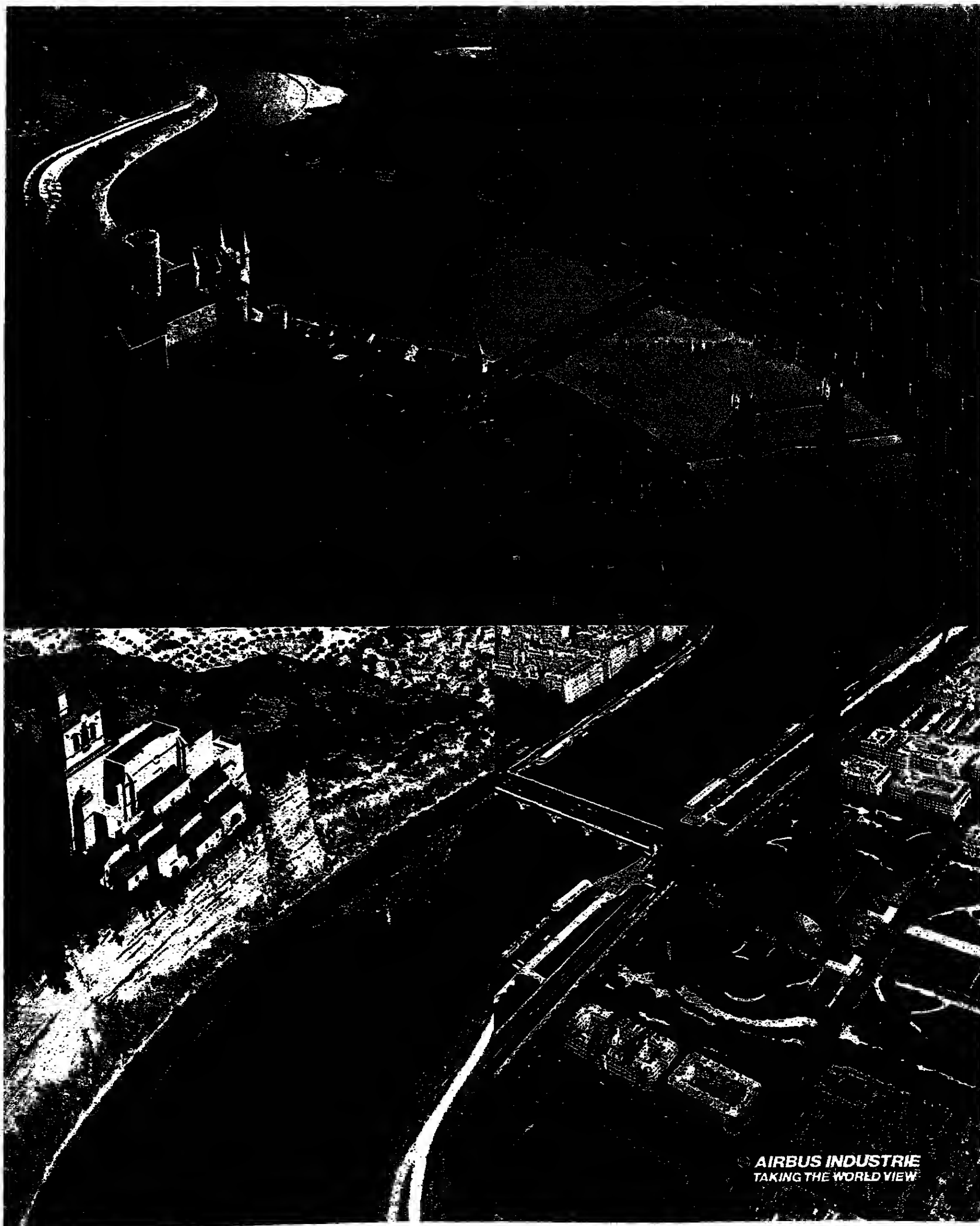
If I were planning this history party, would I invite Germans? Sure. I'd invite the resisters, the Schindlers, any survivors of the anti-Nazi underground.

To put it simply, the D-Day commemoration isn't about German-hating. It isn't an insult. It isn't a time warp. It is a gathering for those who fought against tyranny. After 50 years, that is worth remembering.

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TAKING THE WORLD VIEW

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

D-Day and After

Regarding "Invite Germans to Normandy for Europe's Sake" (Opinion, April 23) by Dominique Motet and Karl Kaiser:

I was impressed, warmed and inspired by the thrust of the article: the historic reconciliation of our peoples. The end of enmity between the peoples of Western Europe is the most important event of recent history. It needs to be written over all the battlefields of our bloodied continent. The last thing we should be doing is excluding the Germans. We should reinforce the very positive changes in Germany, not harp on negative aspects of the past.

A major point of the article was the need to create positive action for the future. I do not think a battlefield is the proper site for a "festive gathering." But rededication to prevent future wars certainly is. Eastern Europe and the former Yugoslavia need our help.

The creation of a European Youth Action Group to help in ex-Yugoslavia would be one way of doing that. Good work is being done by such groups as Causes Communales (offering help between, for example, Belgian and ex-Yugoslav communes).

Many in ex-Yugoslavia believe the country was broken up to provide smaller client states for France, Germany, Britain, etc. We need to show we believe European solutions work best, and begin to re-create trust between individuals, peoples and regions so they can work practically together and counter nationalistic lies and propaganda.

DAVID J. H. PRICE
Brussels

As a veteran of D-Day, I have no desire to see the June 6 ceremony turned into a family day with a Woodstock-type "love-in" of European Union partnership.

In 1945, with Allied troops, I also served in Germany. Our purpose was to wipe out all traces of the Nazi regime and lay the foundations for a democratic government, whether the Germans liked it or not.

June 6 is the commemoration of those who lived and died on the beaches and in the hedgerows, not a celebration of "building a Europe united by democracy."

THOMAS ROSENBERG
Roussillon, France

The commemoration of D-Day belongs exclusively to those who fought against the German forces that for four years had terrorized and killed so many in Europe. The 50th anniversary of the Allied invasion is not a very happy day. It is a day to remember our fallen comrades and the cause for which they fought. Thousands of the Allies fought and died in Normandy. The silence of their graves should not be disturbed.

ANTHONY MANTYKOWSKI
New York

Letters intended for publication should be addressed "Letters to the Editor" and contain the writer's signature, name and full address. Letters should be brief and are subject to editing. We cannot be responsible for the return of unsolicited manuscripts.

The commemoration should not be turned into a political football to further the European cause.

JEBB CURELOP
Paris

A "reconciliation" ceremony is better left to the 50th anniversary of the end of the war in Europe, or of the end of World War II in the Pacific the year after.

ALFRED M. ROSSUM
Paris

The Commander, Too

Regarding "Battle Scars Remain but Little Has Changed" and "D-Day Events" (Leisure, April 22):

While the writers mentioned several of their compatriots, they gave no mention to the brilliant commander of the invasion forces.

How about some recognition for the man, born in Ireland like the Iron Duke, who led his multinational forces to a fine victory? I speak of General Sir Bernard Montgomery.

BRIAN MONTGOMERY
Chavenay, France

Memories of Myitkyina

In response to "In Burma's Far North, Reprieve From Decades of War" (April 3):

This report, datelined Myitkyina, reminded me of the time I visited this charming town, 24 hours after our forces had captured it from the Japanese in September 1944. It was still smoking.

We were surveying how we could get an India-to-China pipeline into Myitkyina. We did it on boat and on foot, beating the Leda Burma Road there by a couple of weeks.

It was quite a pipeline, starting in Calcutta, going to Northern India, across Burma and ending up 100 miles (160 kilometers) east of Kunming, China. We started construction in China in October 1944, finishing up in June 1945. We built river crossings over the Mekong and Salween, mighty rivers in deep gorges coming from Tibet. Our company, the 778th Engineers, in which I had the privilege of being operations officer, still has annual reunions, but unfortunately the grim reaper is gradually winning out.

PHILIP E. NEWMAN
Paris

The Arms Bazaar

Regarding the opinion column "Cut International Funding of Third World Arms" (April 15) by Hobart Rowen:

Very few countries really need armed forces for the defense of their realms, yet the global arms bazaar continues unabated. It siphons off wealth desperately needed for the well-being of the people the arms are supposed to defend. It sidetracks large numbers of competent men and women from careers better suited to the needs of their countries, and in many places it keeps dictators in place.

The fundamental problem is that the very countries that fund the World Bank are those that need the armaments industry for the good of their own economies.

NORMAN SANDERS
Drammen, Norway

NATO Warns Serbs Against Attacking Other 'Safe Areas'

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

BRUSSELS — The North Atlantic Treaty Organization said Wednesday that it remained prepared to bomb any Serbian heavy weapons found in violation of an allied exclusion zone around Gorazde and to launch air strikes if the Serbs attacked other "safe areas" in Bosnia.

NATO officials said reports indicated a broad meeting of the conditions set for the Serbs to get rid of their heavy weapons in Gorazde. "There has been general compliance by the Bosnian Serb army with NATO's deadline," said Sir Richard Vincent, the British field marshal who is NATO's military chief. "There are no major incidents to report."

The alliance decided not to launch air raids after the Serbs heeded a 0001 GMT deadline for withdrawal of arms from 20 kilometers (12.5 miles) around the center of Gorazde.

Heavy weapons covered by the ban included tanks, artillery pieces, mortars, multiple rocket launchers, missiles and anti-aircraft weapons.

The alliance said it was watching to see if weapons withdrawn from Gorazde were used to attack other Muslim areas.

"This is not the end of the story," said Field Marshal Vincent. "There is always the risk that they will be employed elsewhere."

The alliance has said it will declare similar 20 kilometer exclusion zones around four other safe areas — Tuzla, Zepa, Srebrenica and Bihać — if the Serbs threaten them with attack.

"The message there is a simple one," Field Marshal Vincent said. "These are the prohibited weapons systems. Get them out."

A United Nations spokesman in Sarajevo reported a quiet night, with "all but one or two broken-down tanks and a damaged artillery piece still in the 20 kilometer zone."

The lieutenant general commanding UN troops in Bosnia, Sir Michael Rose, said, "We are not going to have a major war with the Serbs for the sake of one broken-down tank which is on its way out."

The NATO threat halted a three-week Serbian onslaught of Gorazde, where UN aid agencies, basing casualty figures on local sources, said 700 people were killed and almost 2,000 wounded.

Ninety patients and 11 family members were airlifted to Sarajevo on Tuesday, bringing the total over three days to 299.

A convoy carrying emergency

aid to restore water supplies destroyed by withdrawing Serbs reached Gorazde on Wednesday, aid officials said.

"The water situation in Gorazde is desperate," an official said. "The population has no access to an adequate supply of potable water, and the threat of an outbreak of epidemics is growing daily."

Russia and France, meanwhile, agreed Wednesday that they wanted a meeting soon of representatives of the major powers to push for an end to the Bosnian war.

Foreign Minister Andrei V. Kozirev of Russia and Foreign Minister Alain Juppé of France said there was momentum toward a settlement that could not be allowed to evaporate.

"We cannot allow the occasion to slip away, and that is why we must exert political pressure for a consensus," Mr. Juppé said. "We must not allow the situation to deteriorate."

Wednesday's talks followed discussions Tuesday between Mr. Kozirev and the U.S. secretary of state, Warren M. Christopher. They declared they would work with Western European countries for a negotiated settlement.

(Reuters, AP)

UN Reinforcements

The UN Security Council on Wednesday approved the deployment of an additional 6,500 troops to reinforce the UN Protection Force in the former Yugoslavia. Agence France-Presse reported from New York.

EUROPEAN TOPICS

French Rights Groups Assail Park's Use of African Labor

Rights groups have harshly criticized a French safari park after it opened a reconstructed African village, complete with 30 Africans in traditional native dress.

The park, at Port-Saint-Père in Brittany, had enlisted the close cooperation of Ivory Coast authorities, who hope the village will lead to a much-needed rise in tourism. Six workers came from the Ivory Coast to build 25 thatched huts, modeled after villages in the north of that country, Le Figaro reports.

Each hut has its own craftsman, includ-

ing weavers, pot makers, blacksmiths, tailors and a sculptor. Their works are sold, with part of the profits going to the workman's home village. There are also dancers and folk musicians — and an Ivory Coast tourism office.

But the recent opening of the village brought criticism from many sides. An artists' union demanded that French law on pay and working conditions be applied to the Africans. Anti-racism and human rights groups complained of humans being "imported" into an animal park. One group spoke of the "exploitation of misery for the benefit of tourism based on voyeurism."

History adds fuel to the flames, Le Figaro notes. Ships from Brittany's ports were heavily involved in the slave trade in the 18th century.

Around Europe

The Dutch and Belgian navies plan to merge their headquarters to save money, a

Dutch spokesman said Wednesday. The two will combine in Den Helder, in the Netherlands, under command of a Dutch officer. The Dutch Navy plans to reduce the number of frigates from 22 to 16 by the year 2001, and to cut the number of sailors by a third.

Sweden wants fathers to pay more attention to their newborns. At present, the mother or father of a newborn has the right to a year's leave at 90 percent of normal salary, plus three months at 60 percent a day. Under the new law, either parent would receive 80 percent of normal salary for 10 months, followed by one month at 90 percent for the mother and one month at 90 percent for the father. If the father refuses, the 90 percent pay is lost. Last year, when either parent was free to take part in the program, only 9 percent of fathers did so.

Yes, traffic and air pollution have been

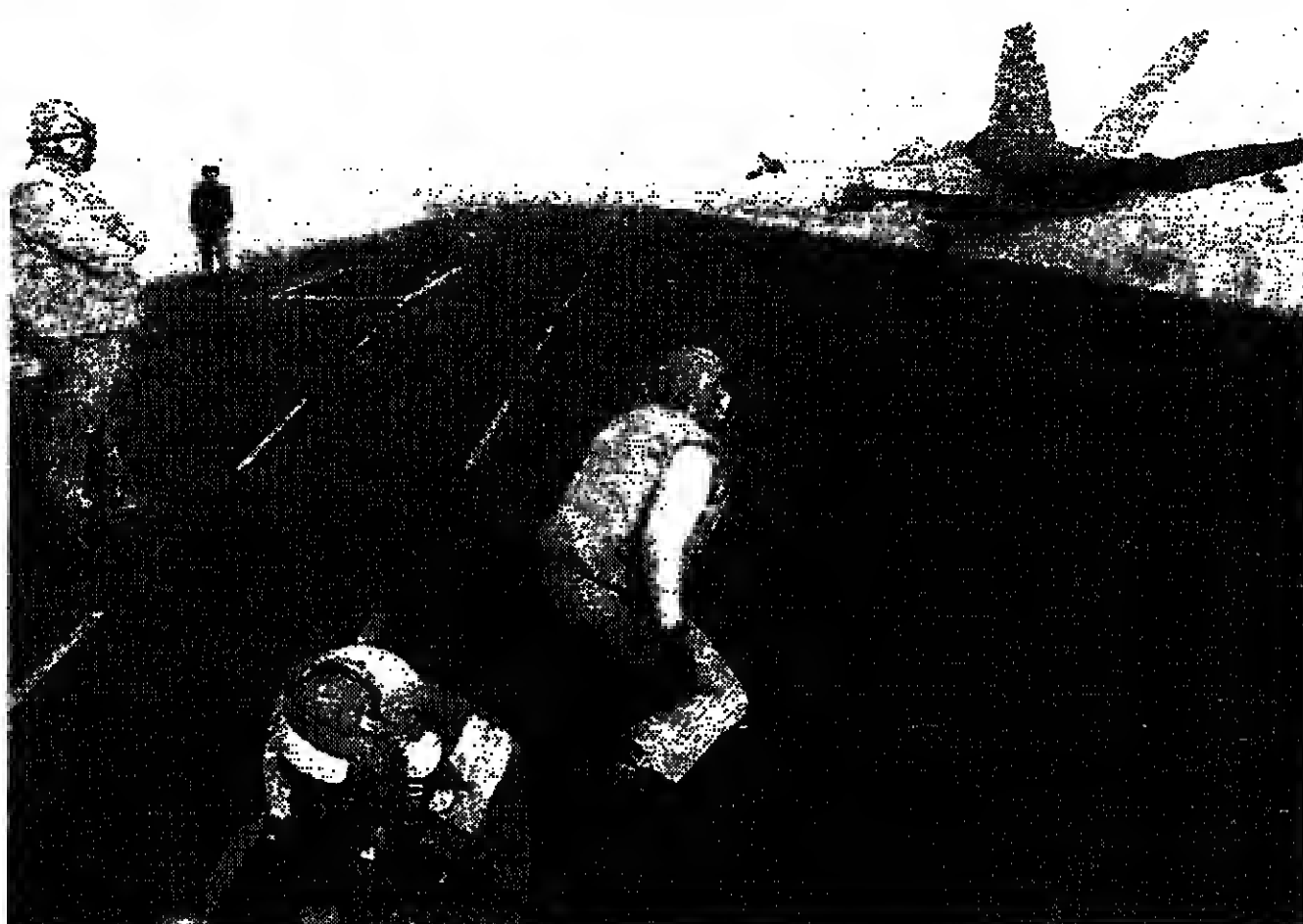
getting worse in Paris. Traffic jams in the French capital are a third worse now than three years ago, authorities said this week, in announcing a new plan for pollution warnings.

Under the three-level system of alerts, motorists will be asked — but not required — to leave their cars at home when pollution is dangerously high.

But environmentalists say the system will do little good. Not only is the new approach optional, they note, but the warning levels are twice the European norms.

Overheard at the starting line of the Paris Marathon on Sunday: "So, how did you train for this thing?" "Well, I've been taking Valium for the last three weeks."

Brian Knowlton



A fighter-bomber taking off Wednesday from the U.S. carrier Saratoga in the Adriatic as part of the NATO operation in Bosnia.

U.S. Envoy Scolds UN Aide for Bosnia Remarks

Washington Post Service

UNITED NATIONS, New York — Ambassador Madeleine K. Albright of the United States has sharply criticized the top UN official in Bosnia, Yasushi Akashi, for saying the Clinton administration is "somewhat afraid, timid and tentative" about sending U.S. troops there for peacekeeping.

Calling Mr. Akashi's remarks in a New York Times interview "totally counterproductive,"

Mrs. Albright said: "International civil servants should remember where their salaries are paid — by member states. They should not be even thinking of criticizing the policies of member states. Frankly, I'm tired of it."

UN officials were surprised by Mrs. Albright's reaction, since Mr. Akashi was expressing what is seen as common wisdom about the Clinton administration's reluctance to commit American soldiers to UN peacekeeping, espe-

cially in Bosnia. But Mr. Akashi issued an apology, stressing his "positive estimate of the essential role of the United States in the United Nations."

Mrs. Albright's rebuke Tuesday was designed to dispel any doubts about U.S. resolve as the deadline expires for the Bosnian Serbs to withdraw their artillery from Gorazde or face North Atlantic Treaty Organization air strikes, U.S. officials said.

As China Looks On, U.S. Agrees to Sales Of Arms to Taiwan

By Jim Mann

Los Angeles Times Service

WASHINGTON — The Clinton administration and Congress have privately reached an agreement that will open the way for hundreds of millions of dollars of new American arms sales to Taiwan.

Although China normally opposes such sales, the agreement was in fact a compromise designed to prevent further strains in relations between the United States and China. It will leave in effect a 12-year-old communiqué between the two nations in which the United States promised gradual reductions in arms exports to Taiwan.

Congress was moving to pass legislation that would have effectively scrapped the communiqué and removed limits on American arms sales to Taiwan. Under the compromise, the communiqué remains on the books as a general understanding, but Taiwan will be allowed to buy certain new weapons systems.

The secret negotiations between President Bill Clinton's administration and Congress took place at a sensitive time for American relations with China. The administration must decide by June 3 whether to downgrade China's trade status with the United States if China does not improve its human-rights record. China has said any action against its trade status would prompt it to retaliate against American companies.

The matter took on "increased importance, almost to the point of frenzy," because the decision on China's trade status was "so close," a congressional source said.

China would have viewed overturning the 1982 arms communiqué as a serious affront and as tangible evidence that U.S.-Chinese relations had changed.

The episode also illustrates how governments and defense contractors often negotiate in Washington over weapons sales. In this case, American companies won the right to export previously banned weapons systems to Taiwan by attracting support in Congress for a measure directly challenging U.S. foreign policy.

"I am delighted that the Congress and the administration and the defense exporting community were able to resolve their differences on this issue to the satisfaction of all," said Anna Stout, executive vice president of the American League for Exports and Security Assistance, a defense-industry trade group.

As a result of the negotiations,

Mr. Clinton's administration will approve applications for American companies to sell Taiwan advanced military electronics for frigates that Taipei is buying from France. These new items include radar, electronic countermeasure systems and "the entire electronic combat suite," a U.S. defense-industry official said, describing that as everything that turns a frigate "into a warship."

Such American companies as Litton Industries Inc. and Raytheon Co. had sought licenses to sell this high-technology military equipment to Taiwan for almost two years but had been turned down.

At issue between the administration and Congress was a provision sponsored by Senator Frank Murkowski, Republican of Alaska, with the strong support of the League for Exports and Security Assistance.

The provision, which would have removed limits on American arms sales to Taiwan, was attached to a State Department authorization bill that was unanimously approved last year by the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and passed the Senate by voice vote early this year. Top-level administration officials then launched an intensive campaign to derail the measure in a Senate-House conference.

The president's national security adviser, W. Anthony Lake, met privately with Senator Murkowski, while Deputy Secretary of State Strobe Talbott wrote Congress to threaten a presidential veto, and Assistant Secretary of State Winston Lord lobbied to line up support for the administration in Congress.

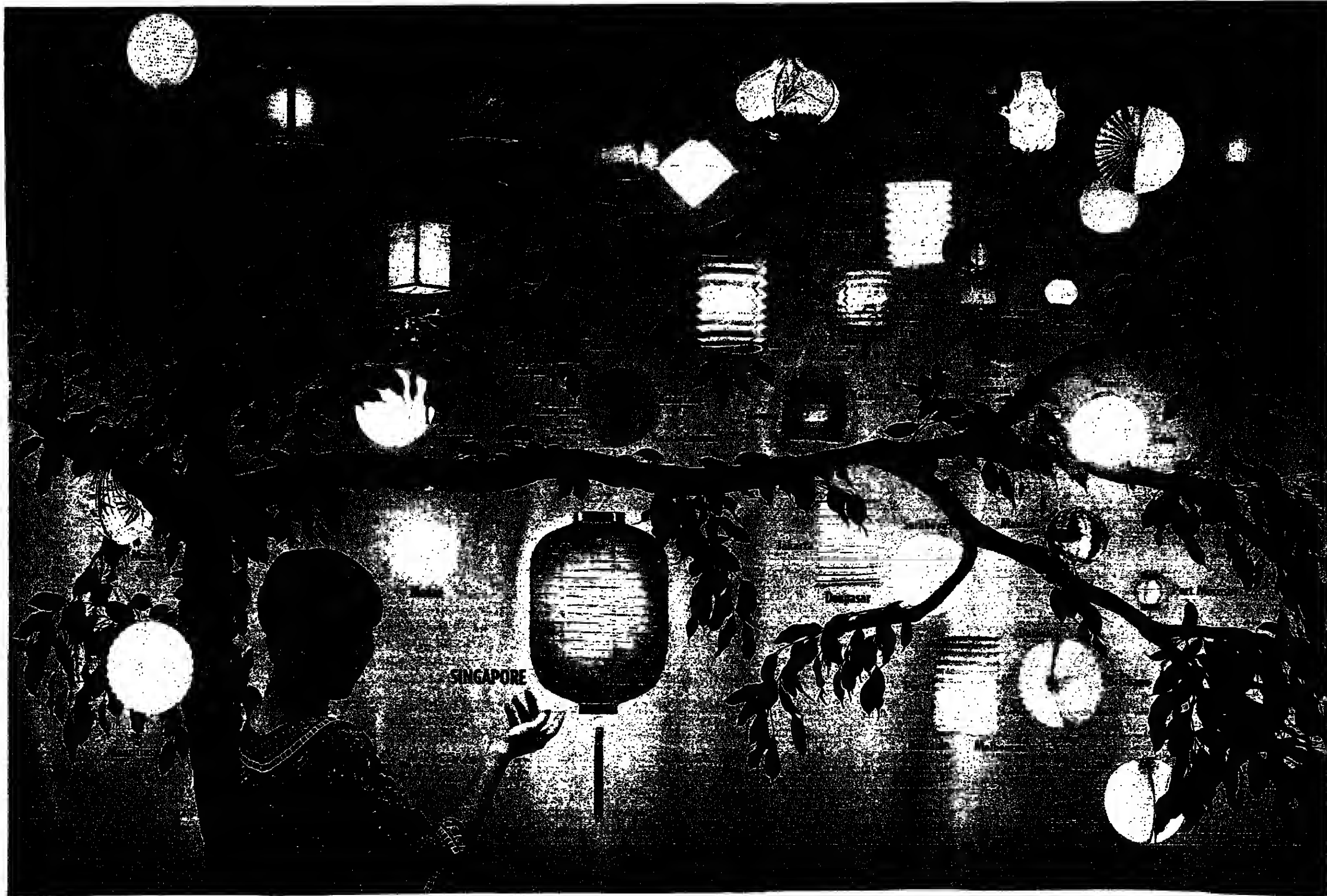
China's ambassador to the United States, Li Daoyu, also worked actively against the measure, Capitol Hill sources said.

In the end, Congress agreed to water down Senator Murkowski's amendment and to limit its effect. In exchange, the administration said it would supply a private letter from Secretary of State Warren M. Christopher reaffirming American policy toward Taiwan and would approve certain applications for U.S. arms exports to Taiwan.

French Deal Reported

Taiwan's Defense Ministry said France had agreed to sell it 1,440 missiles and other military equipment in the aftermath of their Mirage 2000-5 fighter-jet deal. Agence France-Presse reported from Taipei.

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After 18 Years, East Timor Still Resists

By William Branigan

Washington Post Bureau
DILI, East Timor — Domingos Pereira, a 28-year-old political prisoner, began shouting in Portuguese as a group of visitors entered the prison courtyard.

"Long live East Timor!" he yelled in Portuguese as prison officials tried to hustle him away from two dozen visiting reporters. He and another political detainee, Alfonso Rangel, held their ground and managed to speak briefly, complaining of torture, before Indonesian authorities ended the impromptu interview.

"Ask the world not to forget the people of East Timor who have been suffering for 20 years!" Mr. Rangel shouted as guards dragged him off.

The incident on April 15 at Becora Prison in this former Portuguese colony, which Indonesia seized in December 1975, came during a rare government-organized press tour aimed at showing economic progress in East Timor under Indonesian administration.

The visit also showed, however, that 18 years after Jakarta formally annexed the eastern half of Timor Island, many East Timorese still have not been assimilated into Indonesia and that "integration," as the government calls its takeover policy, has largely failed.

Instead, a new generation born since the mid-1970s turmoil ap-

pears to reject Indonesian rule, although it has known nothing else. Even supporters of integration are chafing under what they say is a continuing Indonesian military occupation in which the army has a hand in everything from administration and development to an export monopoly for coffee, East Timor's only cash crop.

"We are victims of our own success," Indonesian Foreign Minister Ali Alatas said in Jakarta. He said Indonesia had built more roads, bridges, schools and clinics here than Portugal did during its entire 465 years of colonial rule. But the program has also raised aspirations and produced many more high school graduates than there are jobs for them.

This tiny, predominantly Roman Catholic enclave of 800,000 people festers like a chronic sore in the world's largest Muslim country.

Indonesia is chairman of the Nonaligned Movement and aspires to Third World leadership. But the annexation of East Timor has never been recognized by the United Nations, and it remains a perennial human-rights issue because of a history of abuses and massacres by the Indonesian army.

Portugal abandoned the impoverished territory in 1975 when its decolonization policy touched off a civil war in East Timor. The leftist party known as Fretilin emerged victorious and proclaimed independence on Nov. 28, 1975. Indonesia, fearing a Marxist foothold in its midst, promptly invaded East Timor, formally annexing it in July

1976. The western half of the island had long been Indonesian.

According to human-rights groups, more than 100,000 East Timorese, a sixth of the population, died during the takeover and a subsequent famine. Jakarta disputes that figure, saying the deaths totaled around 30,000.

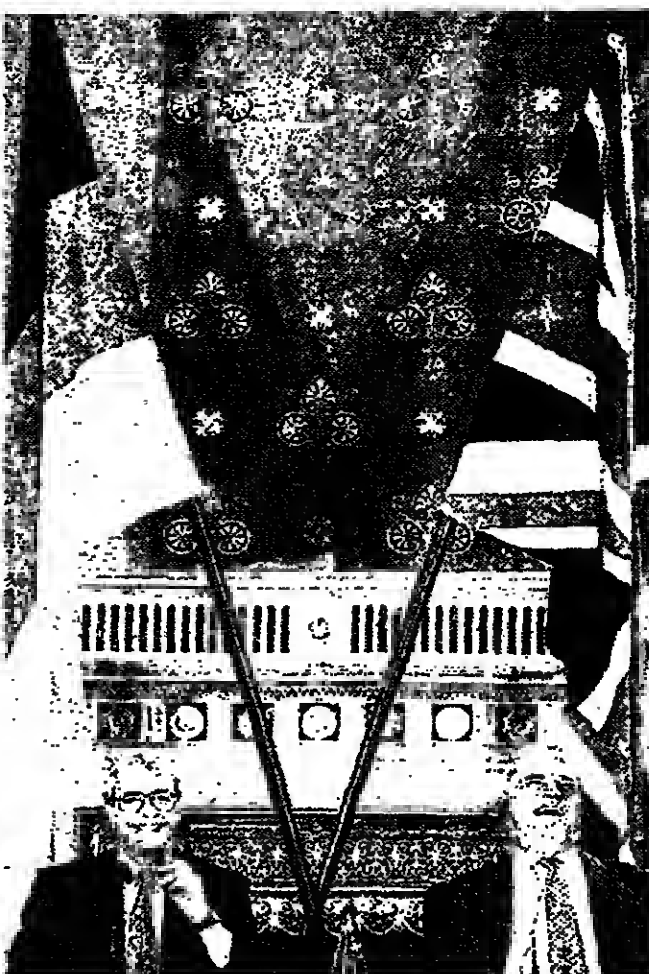
Although Indonesia says Fretilin murdered numerous opponents, human-rights groups blame most of the killings in East Timor on the army.

The United Nations has called for a referendum on self-determination in East Timor, but Indonesia insists that "integration" is irreversible. Jakarta's fear, diplomats say, is that independence here would set a dangerous precedent for the rest of the ethnically disparate archipelago.

"We will never do a referendum in East Timor," said Vemão Vardial, a government-appointed district chief. "A referendum will disturb the minds of the people."

According to the Indonesian military commander in East Timor, Colonel Johnny Lumintang, Fretilin now fields only about 200 guerrillas with 100 or so weapons among them. Encounters between soldiers and guerrillas average one a month, and only two soldiers have been killed since September 1993, he said. A village chief was reported killed by Fretilin in February.

"The problem is that this 200 is not the remnant but the nucleus," Colonel Lumintang said. "I think they will fight until they die."



John Major, left, and Helmut Kohl jovially taking questions at a news conference in London after U.K.-German talks Wednesday.

BRUSSELS: An EU Candidate

Continued from Page 1

would accept," Mr. Crossick said. Prime Minister John Major of Britain would clearly prefer Sir Leon or Mr. Luthers, who share his concern about the centralization of power in Brussels. But he would have a hard time opposing a determined French-German campaign on behalf of Mr. Dehaene, analysts say.

In addition, his reputation as a pragmatist who has allowed considerable powers to be handed down to Belgium's three regions — French-speaking Wallonia, Flemish-speaking Flanders and the bilingual Brussels area — could help make him acceptable to skeptics in Britain and elsewhere.

"He doesn't have an agenda of his own except for solving problems," said the Belgian analyst, who asked not to be identified.

Still, Mr. Dehaene's sudden ascendance is a cause of some surprise at home. Support for each of the three parties in his coalition has tumbled, and the gruff prime minister whose face seems ready to burst the confines of his thick glasses is popular mainly with caricaturists.

Mr. Dehaene, 53, has always worked best out of the limelight. He climbed up the ranks of the Flemish Christian Democratic Party to become chief of cabinet to then-Prime Minister Wilfried Martens in 1979, then achieved the rare feat of entering the cabinet as minister of social affairs without holding a seat in the parliament.

After Mr. Martens lost the elec-

tion in November 1991 and four other potential leaders failed to form a government, Mr. Dehaene showed his negotiating skills over 106 days of patching together a coalition of centrists and liberals.

He then concluded a 30-year-long Belgian constitutional debate by pushing through measures that transferred power over most policy areas other than defense, foreign policy and national finance to the regional governments of Flanders, Wallonia and Brussels.

"On many tricky problems, Dehaene has the will and the capability to reach an agreement and a compromise," a Belgian official said.

That ability has been so rare in Belgium recently that many say the government would be likely to fall if he left to take the EU job.

The Belgian official said, however, that Mr. Dehaene had created enemies with his brusqueness, particularly in the media.

Others say his compromises have tended to mask rather than solve problems. The government's budget and economic plan last year, for example, did little to reduce one of Europe's worst national debts.

Central Danube Reopens

The Associated Press

GABCIKOVO, Slovakia — Shipping traffic resumed Wednesday on the busy central Danube River after a six-week halt caused by the sinking of a Ukrainian tug and an unexplained explosion.

JAPAN: Staring at a Stalemate

Continued from Page 1

for producing a market-opening package to present to Washington.

"It will be an extremely weak administration," Makoto Tanabe, a former chairman of the Socialist Party and a member of its more moderate wing, said in an interview. "Hata won't be able to deal with any important items on his political agenda."

At least on the surface, the parties underwent a day of bizarre maneuvering Wednesday, underscoring the state of flux in which Japanese politics landed after 38 years of government by the conservatives known as the Liberal Democratic Party ended last summer.

The Socialists were wooed ardently by Mr. Hata, who reportedly told his allies: "It is indispensable for us to maintain unity with the Socialists. I will do my utmost to bring the party back into the fold."

The Socialists, however, insisted that the rightist policies and authoritarian methods of Mr. Hata's key strategist, Ichiro Ozawa, made such a reunion impossible.

But no sooner had the Socialists defined this position than they met and agreed to work closely with the Liberal Democrats. It was an unconvincing alliance, but it underscored the bitterness of the rift.

"This is a case of 'my enemy's enemy is my friend,'" said Asahiko Mihara, a member of another con-

servative party that is estranged from Mr. Ozawa. "That's all their strategy is."

Even if Mr. Hata, who is known as a conciliator, manages to lure the Socialists back with promises of important cabinet posts, few expect that such a marriage of convenience could last. If anything, the ideological divide in the parliament is growing more pronounced.

"Under the previous coalition government, the biggest party was the Socialists, and they had a lot of influence," said Koji Kakizawa, who helped form the conservative group within the governing coalition that angered the Socialists this week.

"If we hadn't formed this new group, Mr. Hata would have had to accept some of the Socialists' ideas. Our aim was to take the lead over the Socialists in the parliament because our differences are so wide."

He cast the coming battle in black-and-white terms. "A liberal society is based on the idea of a sense of order and a sense of individual responsibility," Mr. Kakizawa said. "The Japanese had forgotten how to be responsible. They had gotten used to this paternalistic government, and we want to change that."

He explained that that meant smaller government, deregulation, the devolution of power to regional and local governments and a belief in Japanese involvement in collective-security arrangements.

HARRIMAN: New Biography

Continued from Page 1

lovers, along with a handful of bitter wives and unhappy stepchildren.

Mrs. Harriman emerges as a focused, ambitious woman, somebody who always runs with the crowd, finds the eye of the storm and the most handsome, richest man wherever she goes. In London during the war, she consorted with generals and diplomats. In Paris she spent her days with poets, artists and jet-setting Mediterraneans. In New York, married to the producer Leland Hayward, she became a part of the Broadway elite. In Hollywood, she became involved with Frank Sinatra.

How did she do it? How did she attract all those fabulous guys?

"Focus," says Mr. Ogden. "To make that man, at that particular moment, think he's the greatest thing to happen since the convergence of the planets."

But Mrs. Harriman has also, he says, been greatly disappointed by men.

"Randolph was a disaster, hardly a pleasant experience," he says. "He proposed to eight women in the two weeks before he asked Pamela; he strictly wanted to leave an heir before going off to war. At 21, she started an affair with Averell Harriman, but he left her. She picked up with Paley and Whitney

and the generals — she wasn't faithful to Harriman — and then picked up with Ed Murrow, who promised twice to leave his wife for her and never did."

"She left for America," says Mr. Ogden, "when it became clear that the men in Europe weren't going to marry her."

After Mr. Hayward died, she resumed her wartime affair with the now-widowed Mr. Harriman and was soon engaged. And after Mr. Harriman died in 1986, Pamela had a face lift, lost weight and began a relationship, not just a friendship, Mr. Ogden writes, with a younger man: J. Carter Brown, then director of the National Gallery of Art.

Mr. Ogden expects criticism that he has been unfairly interested in Mrs. Harriman's sex life, presumably because she is a woman.

"Authorized or unauthorized, it's really an extraordinary success story," he says. "If this were about a man traveling in the league she's in, the political big league, a biography would include a thorough discussion of a man's social life. We have written about the personal lives of John Kennedy and Richard Nixon, of Harry Truman and Theodore Roosevelt. I treat her fairly, and just the way I would any of these serious public figures. To omit it is to treat her like some '50s matron."

Queen Zein of Jordan, 80, Mother of King, Is Buried

The Associated Press

AMMAN, Jordan — Queen Zein al Shari was buried Wednesday at the royal cemetery in an official ceremony led by her eldest son, King Hussein.

The queen mother died Tuesday of heart failure in a hospital in Lausanne, Switzerland. She was 80 years old.

Royal family members, Muslim clergymen, army and government officials and foreign envoys attended the funeral in the royal compound that houses 12 palaces.

King Hussein, 58, appeared tired as he and his brother, Crown Prince Hassan, shook hands with people offering condolences.

The queen's coffin was placed on a gun carriage and escorted by royal guards, army officers and a military band from her Raghdan Palace to the cemetery, where her husband and King Hussein's third wife, Queen Alia, are buried.

The ceremony was broadcast on state television and radio, and flags in the kingdom flew at half-staff. King Hussein had been in London when his mother died. He accompanied her body home on Tuesday night.

Queen Zein married King Talal in 1934 and was the mother of four children: King Hussein, Prince Mohammed, Prince Hassan and Princess Basma.

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Netherlands	Fl. 770	46	420	230
Norway	N.Kr. 3,500	36	1,900	1,050
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— hand delivery	S.Kr. 3,500	29	1,900	1,000
Switzerland	S.Fr. 610	44	335	185
Rest of Europe ex CEI	S 485		285	145
CEI, N. Africa, former French African, Middle East	S 630		345	190
Gulf States, Asia, Central and South America	S 780		430	235
Rest of Africa	S 900		495	270

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THE 1994 Herald Tribune READER SURVEY

At the International Herald Tribune it is of vital importance for us to know more about our readers, so that we can continue to produce a better newspaper for you. Whether you read the International Herald Tribune regularly or only occasionally, we would be grateful if you could help us by completing and returning this questionnaire. The survey results, which will be produced in a statistical form only, will be used by our editorial, marketing and advertising departments.

Your reply will be treated in strictest confidence by RSL - Research Services Ltd., a leading independent market research company.

As a mark of our appreciation, we will make a charitable donation of one US dollar for each questionnaire returned. The findings of the survey and amounts donated to charity will be published in the IHT in a few weeks' time.

Please complete and return the questionnaire to RSL using the folding instructions on the reverse.

Thank you for your help.

Yours sincerely,

RICHARD McCLEAN
CHIEF EXECUTIVE
PUBLISHER

YOU AND THE INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE

1. Where do you usually obtain your copies of the International Herald Tribune?

- subscription delivered to your home ☐ (11m)
subscription delivered to your office - personal subscription ☐ (2)
- circulated copy ☐ (3)
buy regularly from newsagent / newsstand ☐ (4)
buy occasionally from newsagent / newsstand ☐ (5)
friend or colleague's copy ☐ (6)
airline / hotel copy ☐ (7)

2a. How often do you usually read or look at the IHT?

- 5 - 6 days a week ☐ (1) 1 - 2 days a week ☐ (17)
3 - 4 days a week ☐ (2) Less often than once a week ☐ (3)

2b. Where do you usually read or look at the IHT? (Please check all that apply)

- At home ☐ (1) Traveling abroad ☐ (13m)
At work ☐ (2) Elsewhere ☐ (5)
Traveling to and from work ☐ (3)

3a. Does your spouse/partner read your copy of the IHT?

- Yes ☐ (1) No ☐ (2) (14)

3b. And how many people in total, excluding yourself, usually read your copy of the IHT?

- One ☐ (1) Three ☐ (3) Five or more ☐ (5) (15)
Two ☐ (2) Four ☐ (4) No one else ☐ (6)

4. How interested would you be in reading a lengthier, magazine-type article in the IHT?

- Very interested ☐ (1) Quite interested ☐ (2) Not very interested ☐ (3) (16)

TRAVEL

5. Approximately how many business air trips did you make in the last 12 months? (Count a round trip as one).

- None ☐ (1) 3 - 5 ☐ (3) 10 - 19 ☐ (7) 35+ ☐ (17)
1 - 2 ☐ (2) 6 - 9 ☐ (4) 20 - 34 ☐ (8) IF NONE ☐ (9) SKIP TO Q8

6. To which of the following destinations did you fly on business in the last 12 months?

- | EUROPE | | THE AMERICAS | | ASIA/PACIFIC | | MIDDLE EAST | | AFRICA | | ELSEWHERE | |
|----------------------------------|------------------------------------|---------------|------------------------------------|--------------------|------------------------------------|-------------|--|--------|--|-----------|--|
| Belgium / Luxembourg | <input type="checkbox"/> (1) (10m) | USA | <input type="checkbox"/> (1) (20m) | Indonesia | <input type="checkbox"/> (1) (21m) | | | | | | |
| France | <input type="checkbox"/> (2) | Canada | <input type="checkbox"/> (2) | China | <input type="checkbox"/> (3) | | | | | | |
| Germany | <input type="checkbox"/> (3) | Latin America | <input type="checkbox"/> (3) | Australia | <input type="checkbox"/> (4) | | | | | | |
| Italy | <input type="checkbox"/> (4) | | | New Zealand | <input type="checkbox"/> (5) | | | | | | |
| Spain | <input type="checkbox"/> (5) | ASIA/PACIFIC | | Other Asia/Pacific | <input type="checkbox"/> (6) | | | | | | |
| Switzerland | <input type="checkbox"/> (6) | Hong Kong | <input type="checkbox"/> (4) | | | | | | | | |
| Netherlands | <input type="checkbox"/> (7) | Singapore | <input type="checkbox"/> (5) | MIDDLE EAST | <input type="checkbox"/> (6) | | | | | | |
| Scandinavia / Finland | <input type="checkbox"/> (8) | Taiwan | <input type="checkbox"/> (7) | AFRICA | <input type="checkbox"/> (7) | | | | | | |
| British Isles | <input type="checkbox"/> (9) | Thailand | <input type="checkbox"/> (8) | ELSEWHERE | <input type="checkbox"/> (8) | | | | | | |
| Russia | <input type="checkbox"/> (10m) | Malaysia | <input type="checkbox"/> (9) | | | | | | | | |
| Other Eastern European Countries | <input type="checkbox"/> (11) | | | | | | | | | | |

7a. For business trips, which class of air travel do you usually use?

- | FOR SHORT-HAUL TRIPS (Up to four hours) | FOR LONG-HAUL TRIPS (Over four hours) |
|--|---------------------------------------|
| First Class <input type="checkbox"/> (1) (21m) | <input type="checkbox"/> (1) (21m) |
| Business Class <input type="checkbox"/> (2) | <input type="checkbox"/> (2) |
| Economy <input type="checkbox"/> (3) | <input type="checkbox"/> (3) |
| No such trips <input type="checkbox"/> (4) | <input type="checkbox"/> (4) |

7b. Do you belong to an airline's executive/frequent flier club? Yes ☐ No ☐ (2) SKIP TO Q8

7c. If yes, which one(s) do you mainly use? (Please write in)

1. _____ 2. _____ 3. _____

8. In the last 12 months, approximately how many nights have you spent in hotels on business?

- None ☐ (1) 8 - 14 ☐ (2) 30 - 49 ☐ (4) 75 or more ☐ (5) (18)
1 - 7 ☐ (1) 15 - 29 ☐ (3) 50 - 74 ☐ (5)

9. In the last 12 months, how many times have you rented a car (for business or personal reasons, at home or abroad)?

- Not rented ☐ (1) 3 - 6 rentals ☐ (2) 15 rentals or more ☐ (4) (20)
1 - 2 rentals ☐ (1) 7 - 14 rentals ☐ (3)

10. Please indicate whether you have done either of the following in the past 12 months:

- | FOR PERSONAL REASONS | FOR BUSINESS REASONS |
|---|------------------------------------|
| Flown in a privately chartered aeroplane <input type="checkbox"/> (1) (21m) | <input type="checkbox"/> (2) (21m) |
| Used your company's private aeroplane <input type="checkbox"/> (1) (21m) | <input type="checkbox"/> (2) (21m) |

11a. Please indicate whether you own any of the following companies' calling cards, excluding pre-paid telephone cards. (Please check all that apply)

- AT&T ☐ (1) MCI ☐ (2) Sprint ☐ (3) (25m)
Other ☐ (4) Do not own one ☐ (5) SKIP TO Q.12

11b. How many times, on your last business trip outside your own country, did you use your calling card?

- None ☐ (1) Twice ☐ (2) 6 - 9 times ☐ (5) (26)
Once ☐ (2) 3 - 5 times ☐ (4) 10 or more times ☐ (6)

ABOUT YOU

12a. Of which country (or countries) are you a citizen? (Write in)

12b. In which country are you currently resident? (Write in)

12c. For how long have you been living in your present country of residence?

- Less than 6 months ☐ (1) 1 - 2 years ☐ (2) 5 - 10 years ☐ (3) (31)
6 - 12 months ☐ (2) 2 - 5 years ☐ (4) 10 or more years ☐ (6)

13. Are you?

- Male ☐ (1) Female ☐ (2) (32)

14. What is your age?

- Under 25 ☐ (1) 35 - 44 ☐ (3) 55 - 64 ☐ (5) (33)
25 - 34 ☐ (2) 45 - 54 ☐ (4) 65 or over ☐ (6)

15. What is the highest educational level you attained?

- Doctorate/ higher university degree ☐ (1) University degree/ equivalent professional qualification ☐ (3) (34)
MBA ☐ (2) Secondary or high school ☐ (4)

16. Into which of the following groups does your pre-tax annual household income from all sources fall? (Check in US\$ or write in your own currency)

- Up to US \$50,000 ☐ (1) \$150,000 to \$199,999 ☐ (5) (35)
\$50,000 to \$74,999 ☐ (2) \$200,000 to \$249,999 ☐ (6)
\$75,000 to \$99,999 ☐ (3) \$250,000 to \$499,999 ☐ (7)
\$100,000 to \$149,999 ☐ (4) \$500,000 or more ☐ (8)

Or annual income in own currency (write in)

17a. How many cars are there in your household, including any company cars?

- No car ☐ (1) One ☐ (2) Two ☐ (3) Three or more ☐ (4) (36)

17b. What do you estimate to be the current cost of your main car, if purchased new (to the same specification)?

- Under US \$15,000 ☐ (1) \$40,000 to under \$75,000 ☐ (4) (37)
\$15,000 to under \$25,000 ☐ (2) \$75,000 or more ☐ (5)
\$25,000 to under \$40,000 ☐ (3)

18. Which, if any, of these cards do you use? (Please check as many as apply)

- | | |
|--|--|
| Access/Eurocard/Mastercard (Gold) <input type="checkbox"/> (1) (38m) | Diners Club <input type="checkbox"/> (3) (38m) |
| Access/Eurocard/Mastercard <input type="checkbox"/> (2) | Visa Gold/Premier <input type="checkbox"/> (4) |
| American Express Gold/Platinum <input type="checkbox"/> (3) | Visa/Carte Bleue <input type="checkbox"/> (5) |
| American Express Green <input type="checkbox"/> (4) | None of these <input type="checkbox"/> (6) |

19a. Which, if any, of the following types of investment do you or members of your household have?

- | | |
|--|--|
| Stocks and Shares <input type="checkbox"/> (1) (39m) | Life Assurance Policies <input type="checkbox"/> (5) (39m) |
| Bonds <input type="checkbox"/> (2) | Derivative Products <input type="checkbox"/> (6) |
| Government Securities <input type="checkbox"/> (3) | Gold/Precious Metals <input type="checkbox"/> (7) |
| Investment funds (including Mutual Funds/Unit Trusts) <input type="checkbox"/> (4) | Real Estate (excluding main residence) <input type="checkbox"/> (8) |
| Private Pension Plans <input type="checkbox"/> (5) | Collectibles (art, antiques, coins, stamps, etc.) <input type="checkbox"/> (9) |
| | Other <input type="checkbox"/> (10) |

19b. What is the approximate total value of the above and any other investments (excluding your main home) owned by you and members of your household (in US \$)?

- Under US \$50,000 ☐ (1) \$500,000 to under \$1 million ☐ (5) (40)
\$50,000 to under \$100,000 ☐ (2) \$1 million to under \$5 million ☐ (6)
\$100,000 to under \$250,000 ☐ (3) US \$5 million or more ☐ (7)
\$250,000 to under \$500,000 ☐ (4)



Please indicate which of these charities should benefit from your dollar donation:

- Save the Children ☐ (1) Red Cross ☐ (2) (41)
Worldwide Fund for Nature ☐ (3) Cancer Research ☐ (4)

A U.S. DOLLAR FROM YOU TO A CHARITY

Thank you for your co-operation. In 1991, the IHT contributed \$10,662 to charity on behalf of respondents to a similar questionnaire.

YOUR OCCUPATION

20. Are you ... ?

- Working full-time ☐ (1) Student ☐ (2) Not in a paid occupation ☐ (3) (42)
Working part-time ☐ (4) Retired ☐ (5) Other ☐ (6)

If you are not working full-time or part-time, please skip to bottom of page.

21. What is the principal activity of the organisation for which you work?

- | | |
|--|---|
| Primary/Public Utilities <input type="checkbox"/> (1) (43) | Education <input type="checkbox"/> (1) (43) |
| Manufacturing/Engineering <input type="checkbox"/> (2) | Legal <input type="checkbox"/> (2) |
| Wholesale/Retail <input type="checkbox"/> (3) | Medical <input type="checkbox"/> (3) |
| Financial Services <input type="checkbox"/> (4) | Government/ Diplomatic Service <input type="checkbox"/> (4) |
| Other Business Services <input type="checkbox"/> (5) | Other (Write in) <input type="checkbox"/> (5) |

22. What is your job status?

- | | |
|--|--|
| Proprietor/Partner <input type="checkbox"/> (1) (44) | Legal Practitioner <input type="checkbox"/> (1) (44) |
| Chairman/ Chief Executive/President <input type="checkbox"/> (2) | Medical Practitioner <input type="checkbox"/> (2) |
| Managing Director/ General Manager <input type="checkbox"/> (3) | Scientist/Researcher/ Technologist <input type="checkbox"/> (3) |
| Other Senior Management <input type="checkbox"/> (4) | Teacher <input type="checkbox"/> (4) |
| Middle Management <input type="checkbox"/> (5) | Senior Government Officer/ Diplomat <input type="checkbox"/> (5) |
| Executive <input type="checkbox"/> (6) | Other (Please give details) <input type="checkbox"/> (7) |
| Self Employed/ Independent Consultant <input type="checkbox"/> (7) | |

23. For which, if any, of the goods and services listed below are you wholly or partly responsible for company decisions to purchase or lease, or to appoint or change a supplier? (Please check as many as apply)

- | | |
|---|---|
| COMPUTERS/SOFTWARE | Corporate Financial Services <input type="checkbox"/> (1) (45m) |
| Network Systems <input type="checkbox"/> (1) | Fund Management <input type="checkbox"/> (2) |
| PCs/Desktop Computers/WPs <input type="checkbox"/> (2) | Foreign Exchange <input type="checkbox"/> (3) |
| Laptop Computers <input type="checkbox"/> (3) | Insurance Services <input type="checkbox"/> (4) |
| Computer Peripherals <input type="checkbox"/> (4) | Company Credit Cards <input type="checkbox"/> (5) |
| Software/Software Services <input type="checkbox"/> (5) | |
| TELECOMMUNICATIONS | BUSINESS SERVICES |
| Facsimile Equipment <input type="checkbox"/> (6) | Legal Services <input type="checkbox"/> (6) |
| Telecommunications Systems or Equipment <input type="checkbox"/> (7) | Management Consultancy Services <input type="checkbox"/> (7) |
| OTHER EQUIPMENT | Executive Recruitment <input type="checkbox"/> (8) |
| Photocopiers <input type="checkbox"/> (1) (46m) | Management Training Courses <input type="checkbox"/> (9) (46m) |
| Company Aircraft <input type="checkbox"/> (2) | Company Travel <input type="checkbox"/> (10) |
| Company Vehicles <input type="checkbox"/> (3) | Conferences/Exhibitions <input type="checkbox"/> (11) |
| Plant and Equipment <input type="checkbox"/> (4) | PR/Marketing <input type="checkbox"/> (12) |
| Scientific Instruments <input type="checkbox"/> (5) | Advertising/Market Research <input type="checkbox"/> (13) |
| Raw Materials <input type="checkbox"/> (6) | Courier/Freight Services <input type="checkbox"/> (14) |
| Business Premises/ Industrial Site Selection <input type="checkbox"/> (7) | Information Services <input type="checkbox"/> (15) |
| FINANCIAL SERVICES | Data Management <input type="checkbox"/> (16) |
| Domestic Banking <input type="checkbox"/> (8) | None of these <input type="checkbox"/> (17) |
| International Banking <input type="checkbox"/> (9) | |

24. Does your company operate outside the country in which you are currently based? Yes ☐ No ☐ (18)

25. How many people does your company employ ...

- | | | | | | | |
|----------------------------------|---------------------------------------|------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|--|------------------------------------|
| a) in your country of residence? | Under 10 <input type="checkbox"/> (1) | 10-49 <input type="checkbox"/> (2) | 50-249 <input type="checkbox"/> (3) | 250-999 <input type="checkbox"/> (4) | 1000-4999 <input type="checkbox"/> (5) | 5000+ <input type="checkbox"/> (6) |
| b) worldwide? | <input type="checkbox"/> (1) | <input type="checkbox"/> (2) | <input type="checkbox"/> (3) | <input type="checkbox"/> (4) | <input type="checkbox"/> (5) | <input type="checkbox"/> (6) |

26a. Which of the following international activities do you carry out in the course of your work?

- | | |
|---|--|
| I purchase goods/services from suppliers in other countries <input type="checkbox"/> (1) | I manage the company finances at an international level <input type="checkbox"/> (3) (47m) |
| I influence strategic decisions about the company's international operations <input type="checkbox"/> (2) | I raise capital or invest funds internationally <input type="checkbox"/> (4) |
| | None of these <input type="checkbox"/> (5) |

26b. In which of the following countries/regions are you involved in the course of your work?

- | | |
|---|--|
| Western Europe <input type="checkbox"/> (1) (48m) | Africa <input type="checkbox"/> (1) (48m) |
| Other Europe <input type="checkbox"/> (2) | Japan <input type="checkbox"/> (2) |
| USA / Canada <input type="checkbox"/> (3) | South East Asia <input type="checkbox"/> (3) |
| Latin America <input type="checkbox"/> (4) | Other Asia <input type="checkbox"/> (4) |
| Middle East <input type="checkbox"/> (5) | Australia/New Zealand <input type="checkbox"/> (5) |
| | None of these <input type="checkbox"/> (6) |

If you are willing to participate in future surveys, please give your name and address below, or attach your business card. Please note that your name and address will not be made available to any third party. All replies will be held in the strictest confidence by the research company, RSL.

If you do not wish to participate in future surveys, please leave blank and return your questionnaire. Thank you.

PLEASE WRITE IN BLOCK CAPITALS

TITLE: MR / MRS / MS / DR / OTHER

NAME: _____

ADDRESS: _____

POSTCODE: _____ COUNTRY: _____

FIRST FOLD

SECOND FOLD

THIRD FOLD

FOURTH FOLD

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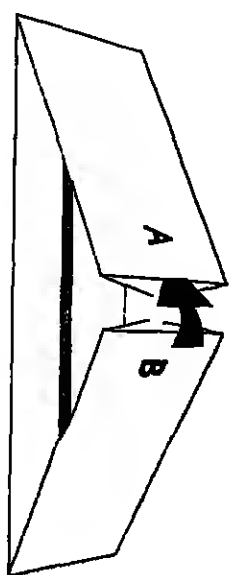
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THE International Herald Tribune has donated around \$65,000 to charity, on behalf of our readers, in connection with periodic reader studies like this one.

PLEASE help us continue this important program by completing and forwarding the questionnaire on the reverse side of this sheet.

Our warmest thanks for your help.



FOLD IN SEQUENCE
First fold to Fourth fold.
Then tuck Flap B into Flap A

B

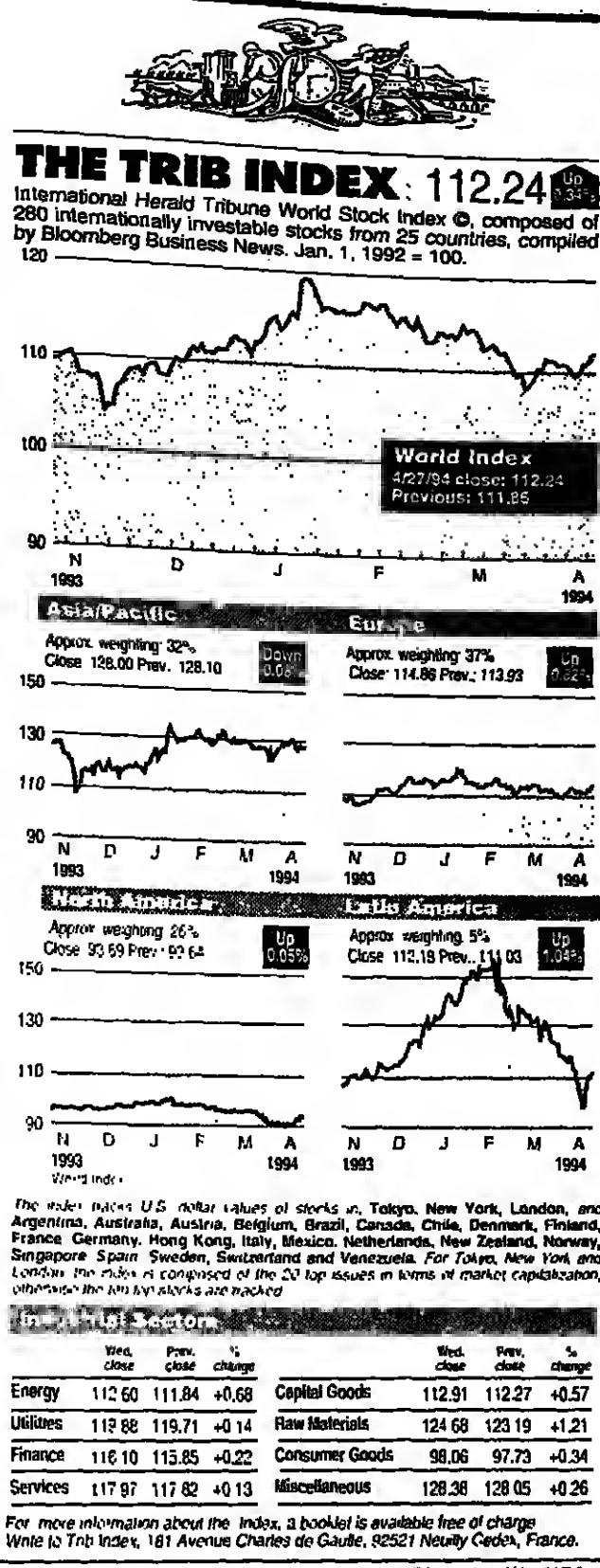
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BUSINESS

International Herald Tribune, Thursday, April 28, 1994

Page 9



Disney Wants to Learn Languages Entertainment Giant Looks Overseas to 'Reinvent' Itself

By Calvin Sims
New York Times Staff Writer

LOS ANGELES — Months before the early April death of Walt Disney Co.'s president, Frank G. Wells, he and Michael D. Eisner, the chairman, began mapping out a strategy to remake the entertainment giant. Disney had been stumbling after nearly a decade of unprecedented success. Faced with a weak economy, declining profits, flops at the box office, and troubles at its theme parks, most notably Euro Disneyland near Paris, the entertainment company that once could do no wrong needed some fine tuning if it was to continue its glory days.

"We were reinventing ourselves before Frank's death but this tragedy has forced us to speed up the process," Mr. Eisner said in an interview at Disney's headquarters in Burbank, outside Los Angeles. "I think you have to reinvent yourself almost every seven years as businesses mature and situations change."

Like other film studios and entertainment companies, Mr. Eisner said that Disney's makeover will focus mainly on cultivating markets outside the United States, which represent the highest potential for growth. But reinventing Disney will also include exploring new technologies and expanding the responsibilities of Disney's senior executives, many of whom will assume the duties of the late Mr. Wells, he said. Mr. Wells died in a helicopter crash.

Under Mr. Eisner and Mr. Wells, who were hired in 1984 to revive a languishing Disney, the company saw its annual revenue rise from \$1.5 billion to \$8.3 billion in a decade and its stock value multiply 15-fold.

The growth was fueled by the rapid expansion of theme parks, resorts, retail stores, and film and television production, but such remarkable gains are now proving harder to sustain than before, even with the magic of "Aladdin's" genie.

With Disney's annual revenue approaching \$10 billion and competition growing in the theme park and animation businesses, it will be difficult for the company to achieve

"That synergistic approach worked well throughout the '80s with new distribution channels like the video cassette and cable," Mr. Dixon said. "But the big challenge of the '90s will be to take their brands and expand them into markets overseas and different venues."

That will involve the international expansion of the company's three major divisions: theme parks, film and television, and consumer products. "During the first 10 years of this job we focused predominantly on growing the domestic businesses," Mr. Eisner said. "Now we have to start over again in places like China and India and develop new products for these markets."

Mr. Eisner said that "non-American-born" executives will play a much more important role in the management of the company. "I think you will see names in our top management that are hard to pronounce as time goes on," he said.

But Mr. Eisner's new concentration on international expansion comes at a time when Disney's foray into Europe has been a disaster. From its inception, Euro Disney has lost money, hurt by Europe's recession and the company's misjudgments of European tastes.

Disney, which owns 49 percent of Euro Disney, banned alcohol at the park and expected its European visitors to patronize the hotels and gift shops. But Europeans shunned the park or spent as little as possible when visiting. In the financial year to Sept. 30, 1993, Euro Disney lost nearly \$1 billion. Walt Disney's profit fell 63 percent to \$299.8 million in the financial year, due

'We know that Americans don't want us to open a French restaurant in New York or Los Angeles that serves a double-patty cheeseburger.'
 Michael D. Eisner, chairman, Walt Disney Co.

the 20 percent earnings growth that management has projected over the next five years, industry analysts have said.

"Walt Disney's success is based on a very simplistic approach: The film entertainment division comes up with new characters that are then used by the rest of the company to create a broader line of products to market," said Christopher P. Dixon, an analyst for PaineWebber Inc.

See DISNEY, Page 11

Clues Emerge in Opel Feud With VW

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

DARMSTADT, Germany — German prosecutors said Wednesday they had found clues suggesting that managers of Volkswagen AG who had been accused of industrial espionage by Adam Opel AG had been in possession of Opel secrets.

The prosecutors referred to material related to a new Opel model that had been discovered in a search last August in an apartment used by two ex-General Motors Corp. employees who had moved to VW. That material has been described as secret by Opel, which is a GM unit, the prosecutors said.

Materials were also discovered that detailed Opel's cost-cutting and purchasing strategies.

The prosecutors said: "The examination is continuing to determine whether these papers contained business secrets from Opel."

While strengthening the case against José Ignacio López de Arriortua, GM's former head of worldwide purchasing, the Darmstadt prosecutor's office did not say explicitly that Mr. López illegally took GM secrets when he moved to VW in March 1993.

Nor would prosecutors confirm press reports that Mr. López would soon be indicted. The prosecutors

said that the investigation had not advanced far enough to determine whether or when charges might be filed.

Opel called the prosecutor's statement further proof that Mr. López had committed industrial espionage.

"The statement, as well as the search of VW headquarters in Wolfsburg and the confiscation of Opel and GM documents confirms the conviction of Opel AG that numerous secret planning documents and highly sensitive cost structures of the corporation were systematically and obviously used

to the advantage of our competition," Opel said.

VW denied using secret Opel documents. The automaker said "a welcome step" and would "inform the public and end the speculation" about the López case.

GM and VW became involved in a bitter legal dispute last year after Mr. López, who was one of GM's most senior executives and was credited with the restructuring of GM's cost base, suddenly moved to VW to take responsibility for the company's purchasing and production.

(Reuters, AP, AFP, Bloomberg)

EU Tells France To Open Air Routes to Orly

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

BRUSSELS — The European Commission told France on Wednesday to open some of its most profitable airline routes to competition from European Union carriers and to free up access to Orly airport.

The commission gave France six months to free up its lucrative Paris-Toulouse and Paris-Marseille routes, but it said EU carriers operating between London and Paris must be given immediate access to Orly.

France said it would appeal the ruling.

"The government does not intend to allow a unilateral and legally contestable decision to be imposed on it and will without delay ask the European Court of Justice to rule on the principle and procedure chosen in this affair," the Transport Ministry said.

The commission's decision follows a complaint by TAT European Airlines SA, which is 49.9 percent owned by British Airways PLC, that it was not being allowed to operate along the routes in question or to use Orly. Paris' most convenient airport for business travelers, TAT charged that the French government was violating EU rules aimed at opening the bloc's skies.

The TAT complaint was considered a test case for airlines throughout the Union, which have complained they were unable to get equal access to air routes because EU governments favor their domestic carriers.

Air Inter, which is controlled by France's unprofitable and state-owned Air France, currently has a monopoly on Toulouse-Orly and Marseille-Orly flights. Air Inter said it also would appeal the commission's ruling.

British Airways welcomed the decision and said it and TAT would begin operating two daily flights from Orly to London's Heathrow airport in June.

The commission's decision followed weeks of wrangling, intensified by rival lobbying from Air

France and British Airways, over whether to use a speedy legal procedure to compel France to go by the rules or spend years negotiating. Commission officials said that a large majority of the 17 commissioners voted in favor of using a speedy procedure.

The TAT complaint, meanwhile, is only a small part of a much bigger dispute over French plans to give 20 billion francs (\$3 billion) to Air France as part of a restructuring program to get the company back on its feet.

The French government has said that Air France is set to announce a loss of between 8 billion and 9 billion francs for 1993. The airline has debts of 37 billion francs.

Although the French government is resigned to opening its market to competition, it wants to do so slowly to give Air France and its units time to strengthen, analysts said. But the commission said France was already in violation of EU laws that state governments cannot give preference to national airlines.

The decision could spell doom for Air Inter, analysts said.

"Air Inter isn't ready for competition," said Bertrand d'Yvoire, with Consultair in Paris. "The French government sees British Airways as the enemy of Air France and wants to keep its TAT unit at bay for as long as possible."

The French government may also feel a sense of guilt about Air Inter after forcing it to buy 400-seat A330 Airbus planes, analysts said. The sale was good for the French economy, because Airbus are mostly assembled in France.

(Reuters, Bloomberg, AFP)

Olympic Offer Rejected

Employees at Olympic Airways on Wednesday rejected a government proposal for restructuring the struggling airline. The Associated Press reported from Athens.

The proposal included a four-year wage freeze for employees, early retirement for 1,346 people from a work force of 9,900, the sale of some aircraft, and the suspension of unprofitable flight routes.

INTERNATIONAL MANAGER

Helping the Boss Evolve

By Barbara Presley Noble
New York Times Staff Writer

NEW YORK — William P. Milo always thought he did a pretty good job of stroking and motivating the people who report to him, so it came as a surprise when some of his managers at Phico Insurance Co., a health insurer in Mechanicsburg, Pennsylvania, let Mr. Milo know they felt unappreciated.

Well, not exactly unappreciated. "Through further analysis, we discovered they felt praised," said Mr. Milo, senior vice president for administration and planning for Phico. "But when someone does a super job, they feel they aren't treated differently."

Mr. Milo learned of his very reputable flaw while he was scouting and testing leadership development programs for Phico, in search of solutions to problems posed by changes in the economy.

This is an industry in turmoil, both from the corporate desire for efficiency and the country's desire for health-care reform. "Re-engineering's hit us," he said. "We need to be much more flexible, more customer-focused. We need to get people to be more creative."

Among the programs he tried was an executive coaching seminar put on by the insurance practice of the Hay Group, a New York consulting firm. For three days last fall he was assessed, interviewed, benchmarked and mentored. He listened to feedback gathered before the seminar from colleagues, subordinates and supervisors and soaked it up from his co-participants. He learned that consultants had a word or phrase for every style of work, management, personality, learning or ability.

He came away, he says, understanding better what the "core competencies" — the crucial skills — of a leader are, how to match them with Phico's strategic goals and how to encourage his people to acquire them.

The course may have helped him understand himself better. "It gives you an idea of what your motives are, whether for achievement or power or affiliation," he said. "It gives you a look inside at what drives you."

Coaching — as executive development has come to be called — is not new. But corporate shrinkage and the dawn era of flexible, decentralized management are making obsolete the idea that executives can expect to make their way to a career pinnacle and then coast until retirement.

Increasingly, they are expected to be, in the words of the anthropologist Harvey Sacks, "autodidacts," or self-teachers, and lifelong learners, whose performance will evolve and improve.

But it is not so easy to push senior managers into what is essentially a training mode. "We think it's O.K. for first-line supervisors to get training, but not for higher-ups," said Martin Leshner, managing director for Hay Group and head of its insurance practice.

When they think of improving their performance, most employees focus on gaining more technical skills, precisely what they don't need, in Mr. Leshner's view, especially if they are moving up the hierarchy. "Mostly, people need the ability to influence people. The way organizations operate these days, you are interacting with people who don't work for you. You can't just make them do something," he said.

Younger employees, in particular, are not receptive to the send-em-to-the-principal school of management. They aren't chain of command-oriented," said Steven Lurie, head of Lurie Executive Development, a coaching firm based in Valley Stream, New York.

If learning to use influence rather than raw aggression is a frequent proximate cause for calling

See COACH, Page 10

IBM and Hitachi to Share Technology

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

TOKYO — International Business Machines Corp. and Hitachi Ltd. said Wednesday that they had formed an alliance to share technology and help them withstand a slump in the market for mainframe computers.

The companies said they reached technology and licensing agreements in mainframes and in an advanced technique known as RISC, or reduced instruction set computing, which helps microprocessors work faster. Microprocessors are semiconductor "brains" that control the operation of a computer.

"We're pleased with Hitachi's decision to build large-scale systems based on our two high-end architectures," said John M. Thompson, IBM senior vice president and group executive.

Analysts said both companies have been hurt by a weak market for mainframe computers.

Mainframes, powerful computers used in business to process large amounts of data, still account for a big share of their revenues but have been hit by competition from smaller, more nimble makers of personal computers.

IBM will supply Hitachi with future versions of its Complementary Metal Oxide Semiconductor microprocessors for integration into systems to be developed, manufactured and marketed by Hitachi from 1996, company executives said. These products will run on Hitachi's operating system as well as IBM's system, they said.

In addition, Hitachi will adopt IBM's Power PC personal computer architecture in developing its high-end RISC systems. Hitachi and IBM are continuing discussions about cooperation on future RISC systems, they said.

"This agreement brings major benefits to both companies and their customers," said Takeo Miura, executive vice president of Hitachi.

The arrangement will help the two companies to develop new technology more quickly.

"At the same time, the agreement will help Hitachi to more effectively manage its research and development program," Mr. Miura said.

Hitachi also said it would develop a new type of memory storage semiconductor with Ramtron International Corp. of Colorado.

In addition, Hitachi is working with Sun Microsystems Inc. of California in a project to develop fast microprocessors for powerful computers.

IBM and Hitachi said they also would cooperate to promote industry standards in large-scale computers, expand sales of equipment to each other and work together on development projects.

(Bloomberg, Reuters, AP, AFP)

Clinton Backs AT&T's Bid for Saudi Contract

Reuters

RIYADH — President Bill Clinton has stepped into a fray by urging Saudi Arabia to give AT&T Corp. a \$4 billion telephone contract hotly contested by rivals from Canada, Sweden and Japan.

U.S. officials said on Wednesday that Mr. Clinton had made the appeal in a letter to be delivered to King Fahd by Secretary of State Warren M. Christopher, who is on a regional tour.

Several companies are bidding for the lucrative contract to install 500,000 new telephone lines within Saudi Arabia.

Sweden and NEC Corp. of Japan are reported to have jointly put in the lowest bid of \$1.67 billion. Other bidders for the contract, which has yet to be awarded, include Canada's Northern Telecom Ltd. and AT&T.

Canada is offering \$1 billion in loans to buy Canadian technology. Roy MacLaren, the minister for international trade, was quoted on Wednesday as saying.

The Al-Eqtisadiyah newspaper quoted Mr. MacLaren as saying in Riyadh that the offer was of low-interest loans as part of efforts to help Canadian companies win projects, including a bid by Northern Telecom for the phone contract.

He said the Canadian company

had presented "the best of the bids," and that its offer includes training.

Ronald H. Brown, the U.S. commerce secretary, who helped American commercial aircraft makers clinch a \$6 billion deal with the kingdom's national carrier, Saudia, said in March that he was optimistic Saudi Arabia would pick a U.S. company for its phones.

But an Arab specialist familiar with the bidding said: "The deal is still open and no final decision to buy American or otherwise has yet been taken."

The announcement of the deal by Mr. Clinton angered European aircraft makers that were vying for the contract.

Mr. MacLaren, the Canadian minister, said on a separate subject that no agreement had been reached on the sale to Saudi Arabia of three Canadian-built patrolboats equipped with modern anti-submarine devices and helicopter landing areas, Agence France-Press reported from Riyadh.

AMR to Buy 33% Stake in Canadian Air

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

NEW YORK — The parent of American Airlines said Wednesday that it was buying a one-third stake in Canadian Airlines International for 246 million Canadian dollars (\$177 million).

The investment by AMR Corp. in Canadian Airlines, in the works for more than a year, is being considered crucial to the survival of Canada's second-largest airline.

AMR will provide reservation and other computer services to Canadian Airlines under a 20-year contract, and expects to earn \$115 million in the first year.

AMR and Canadian initially announced the alliance agreement on Dec. 29, 1992. But the deal was held up by wrangling over whether Canadian Airlines could quit the Canadian reservations system Gemini and join the American Airlines Sabre system.

After a long battle with its domestic rival, Air Canada, Canadian Airlines earlier this year won the right to leave Gemini.

(Knight-Ridder, Reuters, AFP)

CURRENCY & INTEREST RATES

Cross Rates									
	\$	DM	FF	Yen	Sw	GBP	Scd	DKK	Other
Amsterdam	1.67	2.05	1.95	1.67	1.67	1.67	1.67	1.67	1.67
Frankfurt	1.67	2.05	1.95	1.67	1.67	1.67	1.67	1.67	1.67
London	1.67	2.05	1.95	1.67	1.67	1.67	1.67	1.67	1.67
Paris	1.67	2.05	1.95	1.67	1.67	1.67	1.67	1.67	1.67
Stockholm	1.67	2.05	1.95	1.67	1.67	1.67	1.67	1.67	1.67
Switzerland	1.67	2.05	1.95	1.67	1.67	1.67	1.67	1.67	1.67
Other	1.67	2.05	1.95	1.67	1.67	1.67	1.67	1.67	1.67
Eurocurrency Deposits									
	1 month	3 months	6 months	1 year	2 years	3 years	4 years	5 years	Other
London	1.67	1.67	1.67	1.67	1.67	1.67	1.67	1.67	1.67
Paris	1.67	1.67	1.67	1.67	1.67	1.67	1.67	1.67	1.67
Stockholm	1.67	1.67	1.67	1.67	1.67	1.67	1.67	1.67	1.67
Switzerland	1.67	1.67	1.67	1.67	1.67	1.67	1.67	1.67	1.67
Other	1.67	1.67	1.67	1.67	1.67	1.67	1.67	1.67	1.67
Key Money Rates									
	1 month	3 months	6 months	1 year	2 years	3 years	4 years	5 years	Other
London	1.67	1.67	1.67	1.67	1.67	1.67	1.67	1.67	1.67
Paris	1.67	1.67	1.67	1.67	1.67	1.67	1.67	1.67	1.67
Stockholm	1.67	1.67	1.67	1.67	1.67	1.67	1.67	1.67	1.67
Switzerland	1.67	1.67	1.67	1.67	1.67	1.67	1.67	1.67	1.67
Other	1.67	1.67	1.67	1.67	1.67	1.67	1.67	1.67	1.67
Forward Rates									
	1 month	3 months	6 months	1 year	2 years	3 years	4 years	5 years	Other
London	1.67	1.67	1.67	1.67	1.67	1.67	1.67	1.67	1.67
Paris	1.67	1.67	1.67	1.67	1.67	1.67	1.67	1.67	1.67
Stockholm	1.67	1.67	1.67	1.67	1.67	1.67	1.67	1.67	1.67
Switzerland	1.67	1.67	1.67	1.67	1.67	1.67	1.67	1.67	1.67
Other	1.67	1.67	1.67	1.67	1.67	1.67	1.67	1.67	1.67

AGCO Plans To Buy Massey

The Associated Press

ATLANTA — The farm equipment maker AGCO Corp. said Wednesday it planned to buy Massey Ferguson Ltd., one of the world's largest tractor manufacturers, in a cash and stock deal valued at \$325 million.

AGCO, which last year acquired some of Massey Ferguson's North American units, said the purchase would expand its business beyond North America.

"The addition of Massey Ferguson's international network of 4,000 dealers and distributors to AGCO's 2,600 North American dealers will give AGCO the largest worldwide dealer network in the agricultural equipment industry," AGCO Chairman Robert Ratliff said.

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MARKET DIARY

Dollar Slumps on Interest-Rate Ideas

Compiled by Our Staff from Dispatches

NEW YORK — The dollar stumbled against most currencies amid sentiment that rising U.S. interest rates are already reflected in the currency's value.

Economists said the benefit of dollar-deposit rates that are above

ing consumer confidence also dampened enthusiasm to hold dollar positions.

Growing faith in the Britain's economic recovery also translated into weakness for the dollar. Signals that the recovery is gathering steam encouraged sentiment that British rates will remain firm.

The mark strengthened despite a cut in the Bundesbank's securities repurchase rate, which sets the floor for money market rates. Dealers said the cut was expected, and that looser monetary policy would stimulate the German economy.

"The reaction to the German rate cut tells it all about confidence in dollar at the moment," said Michael Burke, economist at Citibank.

The dollar weakened against the yen despite central bank intervention to halt the Japanese currency's rise. The Bank of Japan has bought billions of dollars during the past week in an attempt to prevent the U.S. currency from falling through 102.5 yen. But the effort proved fruitless.

The start of Golden Week holidays in Japan also will hamper the central bank's efforts to strengthen the dollar, said James Round, currency trader at NatWest Bank in Frankfurt. "Other central banks can intervene on behalf of the dollar of Japan, but not so wholeheartedly," he said.

(Knight-Ridder, Bloomberg)

Most investors who bought dollars late last year but that rising U.S. interest rates and falling German rates would boost the dollar. They oppose has happened, eroding confidence in the currency.

"People waiting for the dollar rally hit a pain threshold and got out," said Alfonso Alejo, a trader at Sakura Bank in New York. "Hope for a higher dollar is shattering."

In late trading, the dollar fell to 167.17 Deutsche marks from 167.50 Tuesday and to 102.30 yen from 102.80. The dollar fell to 5.7415 French francs from 5.7558 Tuesday and to 1.4263 Swiss francs from 1.4315. The pound was at \$1.5050, compared with \$1.5057 Tuesday.

The inability of the U.S. currency to gain after positive economic news Tuesday in the form of sur-

Bundesbank Unleashes Bullishness in Europe

Bloomberg Business News

LONDON — Stock and bond prices rose across Europe Wednesday after a number of major companies reported strong earnings and the Bundesbank engineered another cut in its securities repurchase rate.

The European component of the International Herald Tribune Stock Index rose 0.82 percent, to 114.36.

Britain's FT-SE Index of leading stocks rose 0.79 percent, to 3,150, while the DAX Index in Germany climbed 0.46 percent, to 2,537.7, and the CAC-40 Index in France climbed 0.77 percent, to 2,147.32.

"Even though growth is coming through, it appears the Bundesbank's still prepared to cut," said Richard Griffiths, European equity strategist at Swiss Bank Corp. "Presumably it's got faith in inflation coming down next year."

Chemical and industrial stocks were among the day's biggest gainers for the second straight session. "Steady cyclical companies like auto, metal, and chemicals —

they're the ones to be buying," said Mr. Griffiths.

In line with this trend, Imperial Chemical Industries PLC and Hanson PLC were among sharp gainers in Britain, while Rhine-Rhône SA of France and Bayer AG of Germany were leaders in their markets. Shares also posted gains in Switzerland, Belgium and Spain.

Finmeccanica Rights Issue

Bloomberg Business News

MILAN — Finmeccanica SpA said Wednesday that it would sell 1.79 trillion lire (\$1.11 billion) in new shares via a rights issue to pay for its recent acquisition of several military contractors. Finmeccanica said it would sell 852 million new shares, offering stockholders the right to buy one new share at 2,100 lire for every share held. A group of banks has agreed to underwrite 1.0 trillion lire of the issue and Finmeccanica's parent, the state's Istituto per la Ricostruzione Industriale holding company, has committed to buying 493 billion lire.

COACH: Helping Executives Evolve and Improve

Continued from Page 9

in a coach, failing to make the mental leap from technician to leader is another.

One of Mr. Lurie's recent success stories, as he described it, was a manager in a small organization who had recently taken over the leadership of a team, and soon found himself at the center of struggle and tension.

"There was a lot of internal competition," Mr. Lurie said. "He couldn't get straight answers or information from people, even

Associated Press

April 27

EUROPEAN FUTURES

Metals

	Close	Ask	Previous	Ask
ALUMINUM (LME)	1,250.00	1,250.00	1,250.00	1,250.00
COPPER (LME)	1,250.00	1,250.00	1,250.00	1,250.00
LEAD (LME)	1,250.00	1,250.00	1,250.00	1,250.00
NICKEL (LME)	1,250.00	1,250.00	1,250.00	1,250.00
SILVER (LME)	1,250.00	1,250.00	1,250.00	1,250.00
ZINC (LME)	1,250.00	1,250.00	1,250.00	1,250.00

3-MONTH STERLING (LIPF)

High Low Close Change

Est. volume: 10,000. Open int.: 10,000.

3-MONTH EURO (LIPF)

High Low Close Change

Est. volume: 10,000. Open int.: 10,000.

3-MONTH POUND (LIPF)

High Low Close Change

Est. volume: 10,000. Open int.: 10,000.

3-MONTH DOLLAR (LIPF)

High Low Close Change

Est. volume: 10,000. Open int.: 10,000.

3-MONTH YEN (LIPF)

High Low Close Change

Est. volume: 10,000. Open int.: 10,000.

3-MONTH MARK (LIPF)

High Low Close Change

Est. volume: 10,000. Open int.: 10,000.

3-MONTH FRANK (LIPF)

High Low Close Change

Est. volume: 10,000. Open int.: 10,000.

3-MONTH SWISS (LIPF)

High Low Close Change

Est. volume: 10,000. Open int.: 10,000.

3-MONTH BELGIAN (LIPF)

High Low Close Change

Est. volume: 10,000. Open int.: 10,000.

3-MONTH SPANISH (LIPF)

High Low Close Change

Est. volume: 10,000. Open int.: 10,000.

3-MONTH PORTUGAL (LIPF)

High Low Close Change

Est. volume: 10,000. Open int.: 10,000.

3-MONTH GREEK (LIPF)

High Low Close Change

Est. volume: 10,000. Open int.: 10,000.

3-MONTH ITALIAN (LIPF)

High Low Close Change

Est. volume: 10,000. Open int.: 10,000.

3-MONTH JAPANESE (LIPF)

High Low Close Change

Est. volume: 10,000. Open int.: 10,000.

3-MONTH KOREAN (LIPF)

High Low Close Change

Est. volume: 10,000. Open int.: 10,000.

3-MONTH TAIWANESE (LIPF)

High Low Close Change

Est. volume: 10,000. Open int.: 10,000.

3-MONTH HONGKONG (LIPF)

High Low Close Change

Est. volume: 10,000. Open int.: 10,000.

3-MONTH SINGAPORE (LIPF)

High Low Close Change

Est. volume: 10,000. Open int.: 10,000.

3-MONTH PHILIPPINE (LIPF)

High Low Close Change

Est. volume: 10,000. Open int.: 10,000.

3-MONTH THAI (LIPF)

High Low Close Change

Est. volume: 10,000. Open int.: 10,000.

3-MONTH VIETNAMESE (LIPF)

High Low Close Change

Est. volume: 10,000. Open int.: 10,000.

3-MONTH INDOONESIAN (LIPF)

High Low Close Change

Est. volume: 10,000. Open int.: 10,000.

3-MONTH MALAYSIAN (LIPF)

High Low Close Change

Est. volume: 10,000. Open int.: 10,000.

3-MONTH AUSTRALIAN (LIPF)

High Low Close Change

Est. volume: 10,000. Open int.: 10,000.

3-MONTH NEW ZEALAND (LIPF)

High Low Close Change

Est. volume: 10,000. Open int.: 10,000.

3-MONTH SOUTH AFRICAN (LIPF)

High Low Close Change

Est. volume: 10,000. Open int.: 10,000.

3-MONTH ARGENTINE (LIPF)

High Low Close Change

Est. volume: 10,000. Open int.: 10,000.

3-MONTH BRAZILIAN (LIPF)

High Low Close Change

Est. volume: 10,000. Open int.: 10,000.

3-MONTH CHILEAN (LIPF)

High Low Close Change

Est. volume: 10,000. Open int.: 10,000.

3-MONTH PERUVIAN (LIPF)

High Low Close Change

Est. volume: 10,000. Open int.: 10,000.

3-MONTH ECUADORIAN (LIPF)

High Low Close Change

Est. volume: 10,000. Open int.: 10,000.

3-MONTH VENEZUELAN (LIPF)

High Low Close Change

Est. volume: 10,000. Open int.: 10,000.

3-MONTH COLOMBIAN (LIPF)

High Low Close Change

Est. volume: 10,000. Open int.: 10,000.

3-MONTH GUATEMALAN (LIPF)

High Low Close Change

Est. volume: 10,000. Open int.: 10,000.

3-MONTH HONDURAN (LIPF)

High Low Close Change

Est. volume: 10,000. Open int.: 10,000.

3-MONTH NICARAGUAN (LIPF)

High Low Close Change

Est. volume: 10,000. Open int.: 10,000.

3-MONTH COSTA RICAN (LIPF)

High Low Close Change

Est. volume: 10,000. Open int.: 10,000.

3-MONTH PANAMANIAN (LIPF)

High Low Close Change

Est. volume: 10,000. Open int.: 10,000.

3-MONTH DOMINICAN (LIPF)

High Low Close Change

Est. volume: 10,000. Open int.: 10,000.

3-MONTH JAMAICAN (LIPF)

High Low Close Change

Est. volume: 10,000. Open int.: 10,000.

3-MONTH TRINIDADIAN (LIPF)

High Low Close Change

Est. volume: 10,000. Open int.: 10,000.

3-MONTH BARBADIAN (LIPF)

High Low Close Change

Est. volume: 10,000. Open int.: 10,000.

3-MONTH GUYANESE (LIPF)

High Low Close Change

Est. volume: 10,000. Open int.: 10,000.

Nixon Presided Over Bear Market

By Floyd Norris

NEW YORK — When Richard M. Nixon was elected president in 1968, there was general

pleasure on Wall Street. According to the prevailing wisdom, his election marked a return to traditional economic

policies and good news for the stock market.

It was, as it happens, another case of Wall Street crystal balls showing only what the seers

were wishing for. Mr. Nixon, whose funeral Wednesday

caused U.S. stock exchanges to close in memoriam, wound up

being the first president since

Harold Hoover to have the Dow Jones industrial average

decline over his term of office. (The only other president of the

20th century under whom that happened was William Howard

Taft.)

While many of the remembrances of Mr. Nixon have

focused on the surprise of an anti-Communist warrior opening

relations with China, there has been less emphasis on his most

surprising economic initiative, perhaps because it proved much

less successful.

But it is equally true that only Mr. Nixon could have imposed

wage and price controls, as he did in 1971, when the inflation

rate was pushing 3 percent a year — then deemed unconscionably high.

That decision was immensely popular on Wall Street, and the Dow leaped 3.8 percent the first

trading day after the announcement — the equivalent of a 140-

point move at today's Dow level. But it was a serious mistake

on a longer-term basis, especially when combined with an

accommodating Federal Reserve Board monetary policy as the

1972 election approached.

Instead of dealing with monetary causes of inflation, or with the profligate use of energy that

was making the country vulner-

able to an oil price shock, the government set up a bureaucracy that ended up ruling on such vital issues as whether a New Hampshire county fair violated the law when it raised admission prices by 25 cents. (The ruling was that it did.)

Mr. Nixon himself noted this in his memoirs.

"The Aug. 15, 1971, decision to impose them," he wrote of the price controls, "was politically necessary and immensely popular in the short run. But in the long run I believe it was wrong."

None of that was clear at first. It was a week after Mr. Nixon was re-elected in 1972 that the Dow first closed over 1,000, and in early 1973 the Dow hit a peak of 1,051.70, a high mark that was destined to last for a decade.

It was the upward spiraling of oil prices, which followed the Arab oil boycott prompted by the 1973 Arab-Israeli war, that caused the recession and the worst bear market of the last half century.

It was during that bear market that Mr. Nixon resigned. The Dow, at 935.54 when he

was inaugurated for his first term, had fallen to 784.89 by the time he quit. A few months later, it was to bottom at 577.60.

Presidents like to take credit for bull markets during their administrations, while distancing themselves from bear

markets, but as was noted by Robert Farrell, the chief market analyst for Merrill Lynch & Co. during and after Mr. Nixon's term, "in truth they often have

very little to do with what happens to the markets in their administrations."

Mr. Nixon was elected near the end of a 20-year bull market, which had taken stock prices from undervalued to

greatly overvalued and brought on "great speculative excesses," Mr. Farrell noted.

U.S. Markets

Closed Wednesday

U.S. financial markets were closed Wednesday in observance of a national day of mourning for former President Richard M. Nixon.

The Public Securities Association also has recommended the closing of the government securities market and money-market trading.

Feedback played an important role in helping the executive modify his style. His employees noted his ability to bring them together as a team, to keep the unit visible at the corporate level and to garner good community relationships.

men and women I deal with," Mr. Lurie said. "They get rewarded for very tangible accomplishments. Leadership is habitually referred to as the soft stuff."

The executive's developmental leap, as Mr. Lurie called it, was to be willing to trade his tangible for "just" being a leader.

The boss was panicked because he did not know how to prove his effectiveness without measurable results, like sales figures, to show. "That's pretty typical of business

Today's

Appears on Page 12

AT HOME IN PARIS

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FOUR, IMMEDIATE RESERVATIONS

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FOUR, IMMEDIATE RESERVATIONS

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74 CHAMPS ELYSEES

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FOR 1 WEEK OR MORE high class

FOUR, IMMEDIATE RESERVATIONS

TEL: 41 43 33 33

Germany Cuts Repo Rate by Wide Margin

Compiled by Our Staff From Despatches
FRANKFURT — The Bundesbank, on Wednesday triggered a round of European interest-rate cuts by engineering the sharpest drop this year in a key money market rate.

The fall in the repo rate, which followed similar moves in eight previous weeks, helped power sharp gains in stock and bond markets across Europe.

The German central bank cut its securities repurchase rate, which banks use for the bulk of their short-

term refinancing, to 5.47 percent from 5.58 percent. It was the second-largest cut since December and came in spite of the Bundesbank statement on Tuesday that the M-3 money supply grew 15.2 percent in February, far above its 1994 target range of 4 percent to 6 percent.

Belgium's central bank followed the German move, cutting its central rate to 5.6 percent from 5.7 percent. The Bank of Italy shaved its repurchase rate to 8.00 percent.

Analysts predicted the Bank of France would reduce its intervention rate on Thursday. A cut is "70 percent" probable, said Allison Cottrell, an economist at Midland Global Markets in London.

French monetary policy has closely paralleled that of the Bundesbank recently with the Bank of France keeping its intervention rate about 20 basis points above the German repurchase rate.

Traders said that the most recent Bundesbank resolution to ease key rates, Bundesbank President Hans

Asia Sales Lift Profit At Bayer

Bloomberg Business News

COLOGNE — Bayer AG, one of Germany's three major chemicals companies, said Wednesday that its pretax profit rose 18 percent, to 755 million Deutsche marks (\$448.3 million), in the first quarter of 1994, underscoring a global rebound in the industry and strong sales in Asia.

The results exceeded general expectations and came a day after its rival Hoechst AG had disclosed a 16 percent gain in pretax earnings for the first three months of the year.

Bayer said that sales had grown by 63 percent in the first quarter, to 10.99 billion DM, and had been boosted by overseas business, particularly in Asia.

Harald Gruber, a chemicals industry analyst with Nomura Securities Co. in Frankfurt, said Bayer's results were "better than expected," he had predicted a 10.9 percent increase in pretax profit.

First-quarter sales in Asia, Africa and Australia gained 22 percent, to 1.3 billion DM, while sales in Europe rose by only 2 percent, to 6.61 billion DM, and sales in North America climbed 9 percent, to 2.53 billion DM.

European TV Lures U.S. Studios

Changing EU Rules Have Spawned New Alliances

By Richard Covington

LONDON — A quarter of athletic contestants scramble desperately through a science fiction set of post-industrial devastation in Britain's Pinewood Studios, racing to avoid fearsome creatures that resemble escapes from the film "Alien."

Welcome to "Scavengers," a participatory adventure television series that starts shooting this week. In an alliance that itself would have spawned a science fiction only a few years ago, "Scavengers" binds Twentieth Century-Fox Film Corp. to four overseas broadcasters.

"American broadcasters used to routinely spurn the Europeans," said Russell Kagan, a developer of television series. "Their attitude was simple: We don't need your money. That's all changed within the past four years."

As the audiovisual watchdogs of the European Union work on a major overhaul of Union television policy, U.S. broadcasters are fashioning increasingly imaginative and sophisticated partnerships with European producers and networks. Apart from Fox, a host of American television companies have signed on with European partners. They include the NBC and ABC networks, Turner Broadcasting System Inc., the Discovery Channel, which is owned by Tele-Communications Inc., Westinghouse Broadcasting Co., and Rysler Entertainment, a syndicator.

ABC's "Baywatch" series, for example, is largely financed by BetaFilm GmbH, part of the German media conglomerate KirchGroup, which invests close to \$400,000 per episode, according to one source. KirchGroup, in concert with Lux SA of Italy, also is behind the 21-part mini-series, "The Bible," shown in America on Turner Network Television.

NBC's Superchannel, partially owned by Credit Lyonnais and Virgin Group PLC, has slated a production schedule entailing 1,000 hours of original European programming.

said Patrick Cox, the channel's chairman. The Superchannel also recently bought a series from the German broadcaster ZDF and the French station TF1.

The Americans have been particularly successful at making inroads into British television shows. "Connections," the BBC's hugely popular science series, has spawned a successor, "Connections 2," backed by Discovery

Nordisk — to make their own versions of the show. Each network selects its own team participants and brings them to England along with a film crew where they shoot the various episodes. The only aspect in common is the \$2.5 million set booby-trapped with physically demanding obstacles to surmount and monstrous mutants to vanquish.

In the vast majority of cases, it has been the Americans who develop series for overseas markets. The stand-out exception has been Gaumont Television SA, the French producer that had sales of 180 million French francs (\$31 million) in 1993. Under a syndication deal with Rysler Entertainment, Gaumont's television series "Highlander" is going into its third season in the United States. Ironically, the French-produced series was roundly excoriated for bringing violence to U.S. television. In a recent study by the Center for Media and Public Affairs, "Highlander" was rated as the most violent series on television. Although the series is shot in English, it manages to benefit from French audiovisual subsidies.

"The subsidies are allocated like airline bonus miles," said Maria Ginsburg, the producer of the series. "If you spend a certain percentage of your budget shooting in France, you earn subsidies for future productions."

Apart from the advantages of dubbing more easily into other languages, Gaumont chose to film in English and aim its productions at the American market because "the audiovisual policies in Europe are so directly linked to politics that it makes for a very unstable production climate," Ms. Ginsburg said.

In the works at Gaumont are a series for NBC and for Anglia Television Entertainment, a British television channel, titled "Club Med," another comedy series updating "The Three Musketeers" for The Family Channel in the United States, and a made-for-television movie, "Daughters of Silence" for the ABC cable channel, Lifetime Television.

James Giannopoulos, president of Twentieth-Century Fox International, acknowledged the European restrictions on television and film imports have hurt American producers. "But entirely apart from quotas, there are enormous opportunities to produce in Europe," he said, adding that Fox would not be pressured into fashioning trans-Atlantic partnerships "simply to slap a European label on them."

"Scavengers" puts an unusual spin on international media partnerships by allowing each of the participating networks — Britain's Carlton Television, Spain's Antena 3, Germany's Telefunken, and Scandinavia's

Communications Inc., based in Bethesda, Maryland. Even the quintessentially British animation series, "Budge the Little Helicopter," written by the Duchess of York, represents a cooperative venture with Sleepy Kids PLC, a British producer, and its U.S. distributor, Westinghouse Broadcasting International.

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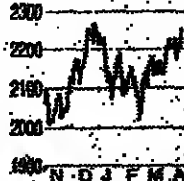

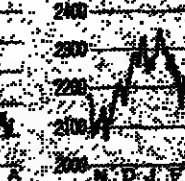
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N D J F M A M J J A S O N D 1993 1994		N D J F M A M J J A S O N D 1993 1994		N D J F M A M J J A S O N D 1993 1994	
Exchange	Index	Index	Index	Index	
Amsterdam	AEX	Amsterdam	AEX	Amsterdam	AEX
Brussels	Stock Index	Brussels	Stock Index	Brussels	Stock Index
Frankfurt	DAX	Frankfurt	DAX	Frankfurt	DAX
Frankfurt	FAZ	Frankfurt	FAZ	Frankfurt	FAZ
Helsinki	HEX	Helsinki	HEX	Helsinki	HEX
London	Financial Times 100	London	Financial Times 100	London	Financial Times 100
London	FTSE 100	London	FTSE 100	London	FTSE 100
Madrid	General Index	Madrid	General Index	Madrid	General Index
Milan	MIB	Milan	MIB	Milan	MIB
Paris	CAC 40	Paris	CAC 40	Paris	CAC 40
Stockholm	Atlasvaerden	Stockholm	Atlasvaerden	Stockholm	Atlasvaerden
Vienne	Stock Index	Vienne	Stock Index	Vienne	Stock Index
Zurich	SBS	Zurich	SBS	Zurich	SBS

Sources: Reuters, AFP

International Herald Tribune

Amid Armenia's Economic Ruin, a Software Company Is Making It

By Raymond Bonner

New York Times Service

YEREVAN, Armenia — In the waning years of the old Soviet Union, when it first allowed some experimentation with private enterprise, four Armenian brothers decided to start a computer software company here. They had no money and, worse, no computers.

Some seven years later, their company, Aragast B, has 100 employees whose accomplishments include writing software for banks in Siberia and selling computerized dictionaries to schools as far away as California. The brothers also saved off local gangsters who demanded a piece of the business.

Aragast B is hardly a challenge to Microsoft Corp., though the Armenian company contends that its dictionary, which translates English into Armenian, Russian and Arabic, is superior to those offered by U.S. software manufacturers.

But Aragast has grown in a newly independent country where to say the economy is in shambles would be to exalt it. Along any street in the Armenian capital, more stores are closed

than functioning, and those that are open offer an anemic selection of goods.

Industry is operating at 30 percent of capacity, thanks to a fuel shortage that results in electricity being available only two hours a day. By unofficial counts, more than half a million Armenians have fled in the last three years, reducing the population of the country to 3 million.

"Yes, the country is near the bottom, but still there is a lot of energy," said Gourgen Martirosian, president of Aragast B, and the youngest of the brothers.

It is understandable why the brothers would choose to start a computer company. Armenia was once the Silicon Valley of the former Soviet Union. Forty percent of the mainframe computers for the Soviet military were designed there.

At one time 5,000 people worked at the Yerevan Computer Research Institute, a downtown complex of stone buildings so secret that ordinary Armenians did not know what went on inside. The decaying buildings are largely empty now, except for Aragast's offices on the third floor.

But how could a computer software company



begin without computers? "That's an interesting question," Mr. Martirosian said with a laugh. "We went to the customers and used their computers."

The brothers were used to having nothing. Their parents were schoolteachers, and as children, Gourgen and his next older brother, Babken, had to share a pair of trousers for school.

If the boy who attended the morning sessions carried the boy waiting at home would miss his afternoon classes. While recalling those days, Gourgen Martirosian sat in his office wearing a pin-striped suit, broad-collared white shirt and tie.

His oldest brother, Armen, is the general manager of Aragast, a holding company that includes banking, insurance, agriculture and retailing units. Babken and Karen, the fourth brother, also work for the company.

From the beginning, Aragast B focused on banks as potential software customers. "Even when the economy is bad, banks are the last to die," Gourgen Martirosian explained.

Using the old Soviet-made computers at Armenian banks, the brothers developed software to computerize the daily operations of the banks. When they demonstrated their software at a bank trade fair in Moscow recently, two Russian banks also bought copies.

"The amazing thing was they paid cash right away," Mr. Martirosian recalled with a mixture of awe and pleasure.

Such fledgling capitalists throughout the for-

mer Soviet Union have found one of the greatest challenges is getting work out of workers grown accustomed in the Soviet era to being paid for just showing up.

Aragast B pays its employees relatively well by current Armenian standards. But Mr. Martirosian said wages mattered less than a climate of caring about the employees' personal needs.

"In these horrible conditions, money is not the most important thing," Mr. Martirosian said. "We understand this and this is the key to our success. We've created a climate in this company and this climate is more important than wages."

As an example, he spoke of what the company had done for some employees who were among the thousands of Armenian refugees escaping the fighting between Azerbaijan and Armenia.

Aragast B hired several refugees who were highly skilled, but who could only find apartments far from the center of Yerevan. With public transportation sporadic these days, the newcomers found it difficult to get to work. So the company bought them a car.

The company also bought an apartment for another top programmer, who was having serious marital problems, to get him out of his old cramped quarters.

Along the way, Aragast faced down organized criminals who traffic in everything from stolen cars to weapons.

In Armenia as in other former Soviet republics, such criminals come knocking on the doors of legitimate businesses, demanding protection money or in the case of Aragast B, a share of the business.

Aragast B refused and soon found its employees attacked and the company robbed by local drug addicts hired by the gangsters. Mr. Martirosian and other company executives started carrying pistols to protect themselves. The war of nerves went on for more than a year, but Aragast prevailed.

"I think when they saw that we were willing to put our lives on the line, when we were ready to die for our business, they backed off," said Gagik Chookasjian, Aragast's vice president for strategic planning and marketing.

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China Cuts Futures Trade

19.2 percent of Pasminco, which it has an option to buy from North Broken Hill Peko Ltd. by June 6.

"If we judge the price is appropriate and we get full value, we would sell," CRA's managing director, John Ralph, said.

Pasminco shares closed at 1.80 dollars, down 2 cents from Tuesday's close. At that price, the 29.9 percent stake is worth about 400 million dollars. CRA's stake in-

Reuters
JAKARTA — Indonesia's

Mr. Ralph said the sale would release funds for CRA's Queensland lead/zinc mining project to Queensland, which is expected to cost between 600 million and 800 million dollars to develop.

CRA said that if the stake went to one buyer, it would trigger a takeover bid for the rest of the company unless Pasmisco shareholders agreed otherwise. In Australia, if a company obtains a stake of 20% or above, it must make an bid for the whole company.

Pasmisco was formed in mid-1988 through a merger of the lead-zinc-silver interests of CRA and North Broken Hill Peko.

Pasmisco's managing director, Peter Barnett, said he believed only two or three non-Australian companies could afford the stake.

Among the largest zinc producers in the world are Union Minière of Belgium, Cominco Ltd. of Canada, Outokumpu Oy of Finland and MIM Holdings Ltd. of Australia.

China's largest metals exchange in Shanghai, which mainly trades copper futures, has been instructed not to accept bank guarantees and to shift to a cash-only payment system starting July 1.

The government moves are part of a wider campaign to curb futures trading under central authority, traders say. Some of the country's fledgling futures trading floors have become playgrounds for speculators.

"Futures markets are very unsophisticated," a Shanghai-based steel trader said. "Its getting too easy for people with money to speculate, and these people are capable of disturbing the whole market."

Futures markets are not yet overhauling — in fact, contracts for steel rods on the Suzhou Commodity Exchange have been falling in recent weeks, and sugar contracts elsewhere also have slumped.

Yan Yu, deputy president of the Suzhou exchange, said trading in futures on wire rods would

The Shanghai Construction Materials Exchange also will suspend trading in steel futures by the end of October, but will retain forward contracts.

A spokesman for the Shanghai Cereals and Oils Exchange said three of six futures sugar contracts would be stopped on Friday and the rest would be halted by the end of October. Officials at Shanghai's coal market could not be reached for comment.

■ **Lower China Grain Harvest Likely**

Chinese economists are predicting a grain shortage this year because of cold weather and reduced land under cultivation, the Associated Press reported from Beijing, quoting the official China Daily newspaper.

China produced a record 456 million tons of grain last year, and had been aiming to match that this year. But winter-wheat acreage, which makes up 40 percent of the year's grain production, is down 100 million last year.

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

TOKYO—Japanese companies plan to cut capital spending by 9.1 percent in the year to March 1995 after trimming outlays by an estimated 10.3 percent in the year ended in March 1994, according to a survey published Wednesday by the Economic Planning Agency.

The agency said that it would be the third consecutive year of falling capital spending.

Based on a study of 4,550 medium- and large-sized companies in early March, the study found that the investment cutback would for the second straight year be much more pronounced among industrial concerns, which are expected to cut spending by 17.6 percent, than among nonmanufacturing companies, which are seen making cuts of only 5 percent.

The downturn was expected

Bloomberg Business News "At the end of the day, Hong Kong beers has sliced its market share to about 30 percent in 1995, down from 40 percent in 1994." **China Daily** "The Hong Kong Beer Co. has lost its market share to the mainland's beer companies." **China Daily** "The Hong Kong Beer Co. has lost its market share to the mainland's beer companies." **China Daily** "The Hong Kong Beer Co. has lost its market share to the mainland's beer companies."

HONG KONG — San Miguel Brewery Ltd. said Wednesday it was considering selling or redeveloping its Hong Kong brewery site, opening up the possibility that it could shift production to China.

San Miguel said it was looking at the possibility of securing an alternative site in Hong Kong for the brewery. But analysts said it could make more sense for the company to move to southern China, where land and labor costs are much lower.

"By moving to China, they would get the benefit of lower production costs," said Mtn Chin, regional food, tobacco and beverage analyst at Lehman Brothers in Hong Kong.

It is likely to be part of China's early '90s, he added, referring to the company's long-standing intention to Chinese sovereignty in 1997.

A spokeswoman for San Miguel said she did not know if China was an option the company might consider. "As far as I know, nothing has been set in stone," she said.

Speculation the company would move to China lifted San Miguel shares 9.1 percent on Tuesday, to 6.60 Hong Kong dollars (85 cents).

San Miguel Brewery, a subsidiary of San Miguel Corp., a food, oil, beverage and paper house in the Philippines, has about 45 percent of the Hong Kong beer market. But an increase in the availability of foreign

real estate analysts said the square's 494,700-square-foot (45,200-sq-m) brewery should prime space and its value was to increase once a major new project was completed and sold in a few years. There are several housing developments close to the site. They said was difficult to value on the site until it was clear how the government would treat redevelopment plans that included rezoning for residential use.

Hong Kong real estate have been soaring in recent months, lifting the value of industrial sites that could be developed into apartments.

By James Sterngold
New York Times Service

TOKYO — As Tsutomu Hata, the prime minister-elect of Japan, struggles to form a government this week, he is facing the disintegration of his ruling coalition, the most tenacious recession in decades and the anger of the United States at his country for not having done more to revive its economy.

But Mr. Hata also has to face the post office, whose latest rate increase reflects just who is winning the basic conflict in Japan between political leaders and the government bureaucracy.

With the economy so battered that wholesale prices are actually declining, the government enacted earlier this year a stimulus program that included a \$55 billion income-tax cut. The new government is expected to take further measures to stimulate growth.

For months politicians have sworn that jolting Japan out of its two-year-old recession was their top priority — a pledge Mr. Hata has repeated. Trimming income taxes was seen as one way to en-

However, the Finance Ministry has fought furiously against big tax cuts and other measures that would create budget deficits. Its officials have argued, and Mr. Hata has agreed, that if income tax cuts are extended beyond this year, lost revenue must be made up with big increases in the national sales tax, currently 3 percent.

Other ministries have sought to push through fee, toll and fare increases to make up their own deficits.

The post office has done its bit with a major increase in its mailing rates, raising the cost of sending a regular letter by 29 percent, to the equivalent of 77 cents. The increase will take \$2.5 billion out of consumers' pockets this year, according to estimates by Morgan Stanley International.

The postage increase has hit some recession-shaken companies so hard that they have turned to an illegal, but revealing, dodge: they have been putting thousands of individual letters in boxes, shipping them in bulk to places like Hong Kong, where mailing rates are more reasonable, and then having them remailed individually to Japan. The lengthy round trip still costs less than mailing the letters within Japan.

Hardly an isolated instance, the postal rate jump is one of a series of increases in fees for various government services that the bureaucracy has approved or looks likely to approve this year.

Increased charges are expected for water and sewage use, public pension funds, public universities, buses, medical treatment, tele-

Higher Fees for Japan's Consumers

The Japanese government has agreed to let private firms to administer the nation's public utility services, particularly long-term family insurance, in large amounts to raise extra funds for welfare. Stanley International predicts that this action will be beneficial to Japan:

Postal life insurance premiums	1,200.0 billion
Postal life insurance premiums	650.0 billion
Personal pension premiums	300.0 billion
Tokyo metropolitan water and sewerage fees	300.0 billion
Postage	280.0 billion
Alcohol taxes	125.0 billion
Telephone services	95.0 billion
Medical services	91.0 billion
Tokyo metropolitan road tolls	38.5 billion
Subway fares	8.4 billion
Public housing rents	7.5 billion
Auto inspection fees	6.8 billion
National University tuition	4.5 billion
Rice taxes	4.3 billion

TOTAL EXTRA REVENUE **3,281.4 billion**

phone calls, highway tolls and public-housing rents.

Mineko Sasaki-Smith, a Morgan Stanley economist, estimated higher fees would cost consumers more than \$22 billion this year.

The increases will erase more than a third of the benefit of the income tax cut and crimp economic growth, which is already expected to be less than 1 percent this year.

Hidekazu Sukegawa, an official of the Japan Federation of Employers' Associations, or Nikkeiren, said his business trade group had estimated that all the increases would halve the impact of the income-tax reductions this year.

"This is a result of the lack of government leadership," Mr. Sugawara said. "Each public body has its own reasons for the raises, but nobody exercised leadership with a grasp of the overall perspective to prevent all these increases."

The price rises, coming at a time when wages are weak, inflation is almost nonexistent and oil and other raw material costs are plummeting because of the strong yen, offer a better guide to the government's real direction on economic policy than the prime minister's pronouncements.

The problem also demonstrates the weakness of the coalition government that took power last summer. The Liberal Democratic Party, which held power for 38 years, was regarded as corrupt but effective in working with business to counter the bureaucracy on certain

key issues, such as taxes and government-controlled fees.

The fractiousness of the current ruling coalition, which Mr. Hata represents, has reduced constraints on the bureaucrats.

"Those policy decisions are made by the bureaucrats, that is clear," said Yukio Noguchi, a former Finance Ministry official and now an economics professor at Hitotsubashi

Companies have found themselves squeezed by more than rising postal rates.

"Given the current recession, we are not going to be able to raise our fees even if the highway tolls go up," said Norio Teranishi, a spokesman for Nippon Express Co., Japan's largest trucking company. "Since gas and oil taxes rose at the end of last year, the toll increase came as a

The fee and fare rises could affect not only Japanese consumers and corporations, but also, more indirectly, America, which sees faster economic growth as one cure for Japan's towering trade surplus. The idea is that greater economic activity will draw in more imports, creating a larger market for foreign-made goods.

Up to now, the government bureaucrats have generally rejected the U.S. arguments, contending that Japan was doing all it could.

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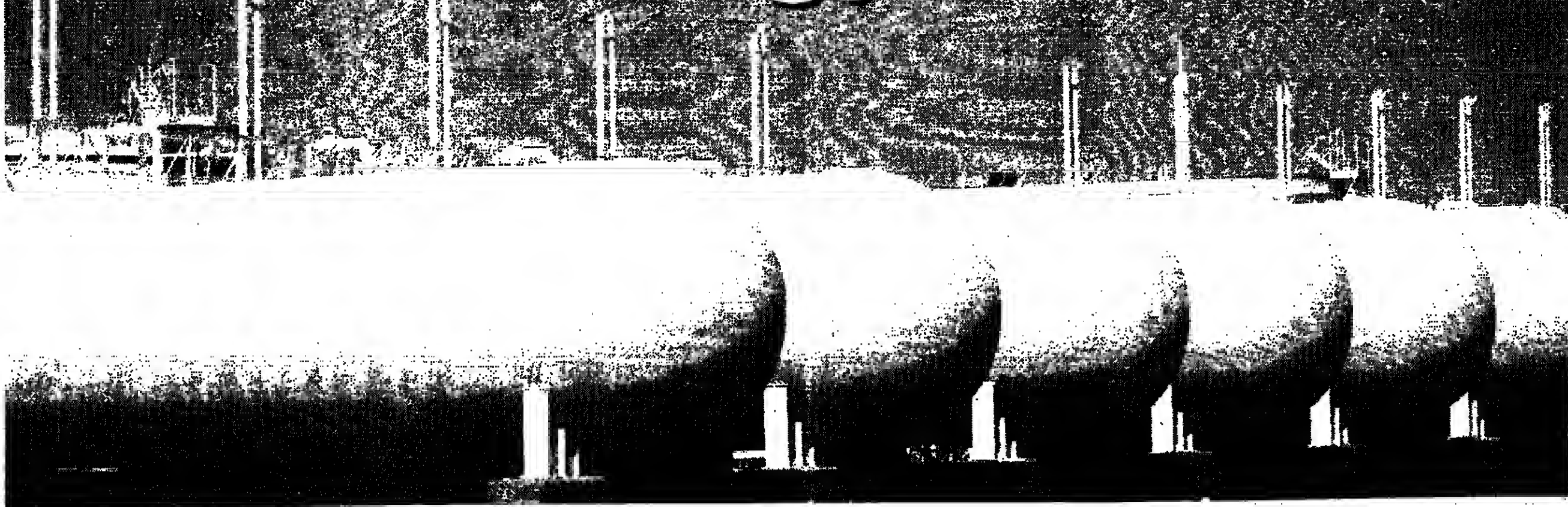
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April 29, 1994
will mark the official

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At 810 kilometers
(500 miles),
the Zeepipe is the
world's longest
underwater pipeline.

TROLL EMBARKS ON THE CONTINENT WITH OPENING OF ZEEPIPE

The official opening ceremony on April 29 of the 810-kilometer (500-mile) Zeepipe, the world's longest offshore gas pipeline, will mark a milestone in the history of the West European gas industry.

The Zeepipe, which ends at Zeebrugge, Belgium, is the first phase in a giant infrastructure of offshore platforms and pipelines for which the Norwegian government and other owners have put up \$17.8 billion. Exports of Norwegian gas to Germany, France, Belgium, the Netherlands, Spain and Austria were assured in 1986 under the Troll gas sales agreement, the world's largest commercial contract.

The Troll agreement will secure 1 trillion cubic meters of clean energy supplies for Europe over the next 28 years. The agreement makes Norway the second-largest producer and exporter of natural gas in Europe, after Russia. Norway already ranks as the third-largest world oil producer after

Saudi Arabia and Iran. The export value of the total contracted volumes under the Troll gas sales agreement is estimated to be \$100 billion.

It was the discovery of the huge Troll field in 1979 that allowed the Troll gas sales agreement to be initiated. Containing reserves of around 1.3 trillion cubic meters and located about 80 kilometers off Bergen in water depths ranging from 300 to 340 meters, the Troll field soon assumed the role of Norway's "gas bank."

Production from the Troll field, scheduled to start in 1996, is anticipated to last for more than 50 years. Norway has total estimated gas reserves of 2.7 trillion cubic meters located in other fields on various areas of the shelf, corresponding to 100 years of production. Good resource management will allow fields already discovered in shallower waters or closer to the markets to supply the first volumes under the Troll gas sales agreement.

The first development investments of

\$3.1 billion went to the gas-condensate Sleipner East field, located about 240 kilometers west of Stavanger, and containing some 47 billion cubic meters of gas. Because of its central location, the field can supply the German market through pipeline links into the already existing Statpipe/Norpipe trunkline to Emden as well as the westernmost markets along the "Atlantic axis" through the Zeepipe pipeline.

The Sleipner East development has required a huge gravity-base concrete platform with integrated production,

treatment and export functions for both gas and condensate. The platform was installed in August 1993, and the first deliveries of 10.5 million cubic meters of gas per day flowed into the Zeepipe and landed at Zeebrugge punctually on Oct. 1, 1993.

The condensate is being piped through a separate Zeepipe line to the Norwegian terminal of Karsto, north of Stavanger. This makes the Sleipner part of the Zeepipe network 1,100 kilometers long.

In 1992, the Norwegian government

gave the go-ahead to develop the Sleipner West field, another gas-condensate structure located close to Sleipner East. The Sleipner West reserves of 125 billion cubic meters of gas had already been included in the Troll gas sales agreement, as part of the Troll reserves portfolio. The project currently under development requires a new \$2.7 billion investment for two platforms to be tied back to Sleipner East. Production from Sleipner West is due to start in April 1997, and will complement the production from the Troll field itself.

The Troll gas installation will be the jewel in the crown of the whole Norwegian gas infrastructure. Requiring an investment of \$4.5 billion, Troll will have the biggest platform ever built in the world. As was the case for the Sleipner East concrete gravity-base structure, the Troll structure, designed and fabricated by Norwegian Contractors of the Aker Group, will be 430 meters high and will stand in a water depth of 303 meters.

The Consortium

Statil, Norway's state oil company, heads the Norwegian Gas Marketing Consortium, which is in effect the sole seller of Norwegian gas. The consortium was first formed by the companies involved in developing and operating the Troll field: Statil, Norsk Hydro, Saga Petroleum, Shell, Conoco, Elf Petroleum and Total. It was recently enlarged to include Esso, Neste and Phillips in order to include the owners of all fields coming under the umbrella of the Troll gas sales agreement.



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STATOIL

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مركز الطاقة

Gas Energy for Europe

NORWAY: EUROPE'S SOURCE FOR STABLE ENERGY SUPPLY

Norway is currently the sixth-largest exporter of gas in the world. When the Troll gas deliveries reach 55 billion cubic meters per year at plateau level in 2005, including the remaining options in the Troll agreement, Norway will be supplying Western Europe with almost one-third of all gas consumed.

Other major gas sources besides Norway are Russia and Algeria. Since the Troll gas agreement was concluded,

The opening up of Eastern Europe is affecting the European gas market in two ways. While more gas should, in principle, be made available from the giant Russian reserves, political reforms have not yet succeeded in ensuring a stable economy capable of sustaining the major infrastructure investments required to produce and carry new gas to Europe.

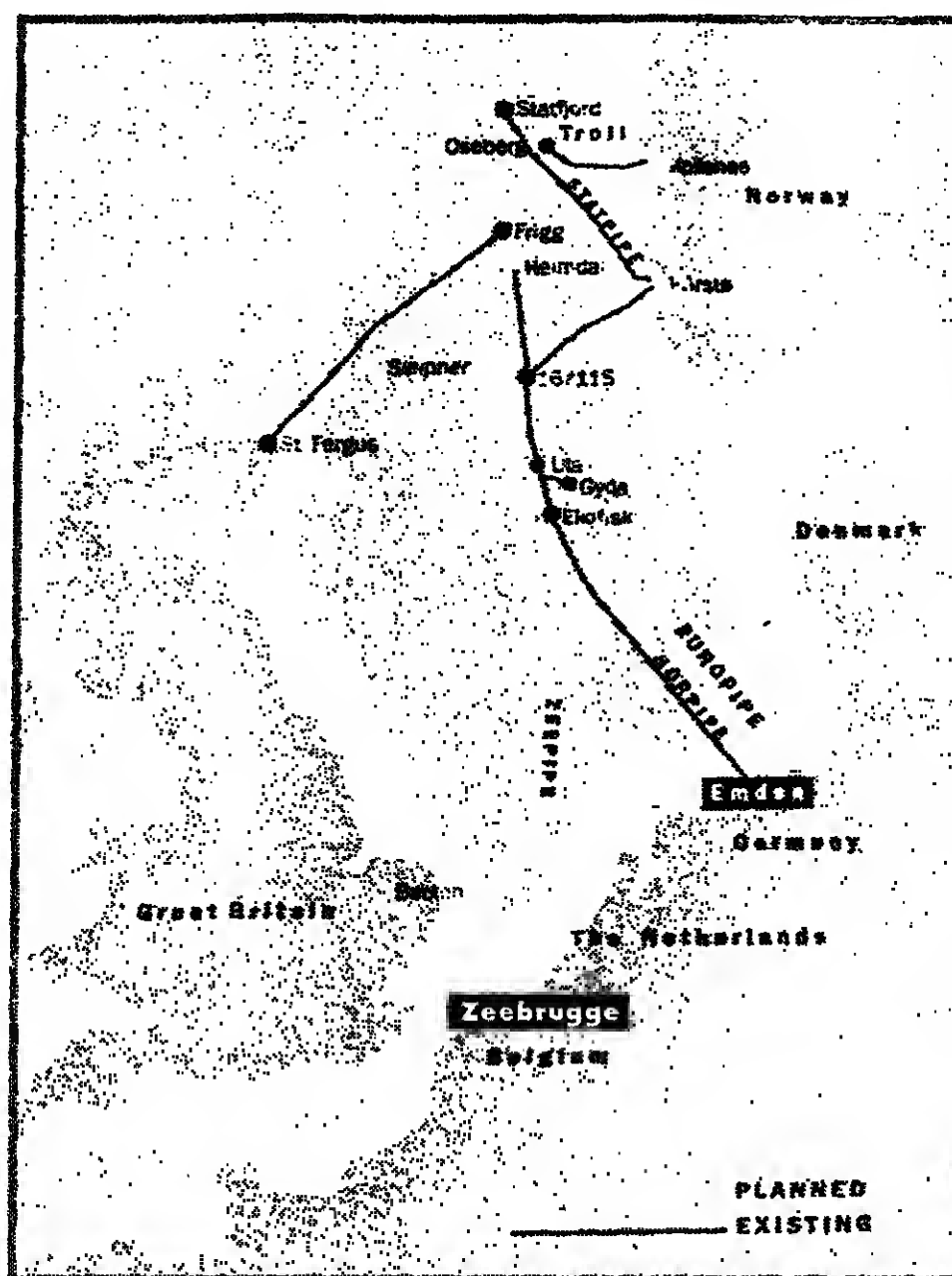
Because the security of Russian supplies is no longer guaranteed, for many European nations supply di-

gian gas, reinforcing the role of Norway as a major player on the European gas scene.

Algeria, Europe's other major gas supplier, is also experiencing political unrest. Since Western Europe depends on imports for up to 90 percent of all gas consumed, and because of the long-term nature of upstream developments and downstream marketing, securing supplies into the next century has become crucial. Without such security, the long-term future of the European gas market could be at risk as other, alternative, energies came to prove more attractive propositions.

The government's major share in the Norwegian gas industry (including a 62.7 percent share in the Troll field) is both a financial guarantee ensuring the start-up of major development projects and an assurance that often capital-intensive contractual commitments will be met. The investment burden is shared by major international oil and gas companies, including Shell, Esso, Conoco, Elf, Total and Neste as well as Norsk Hydro and Saga Petroleum.

The Norwegian gas industry is supported by strong technology that, over the past 20 years, has demonstrated a growing capacity to tackle major offshore challenges. Much of this capability comes from Norway's large industrial groups such as Aker, Kvaerner and ABB, as well as from a wide range of major international engineering and supplier groups. These include names such as Snamprogetti, for the project engineering of the Zeeuwpolder system, and European Marine Contractors, a company jointly owned by Italian



Troll gas will be treated onshore at Kollsnes before being dispatched to Belgium and Germany.

company Saipem and the U.S. firm Brown & Root. Together, they have designed and laid the entire Zeeuwpolder pipeline complex. Bredero Price handled pipe-coating work for the Zeeuwpolder at its plant in Leith, Scotland. Swiss know-how has come from Sulzer-Esch-

er Wyss, Zurich, which supplied the injection compressor station equipped with gas turbine-driven radial compressors for the underground gas storage facility for the Norpiper at Etzel, near Emden.

Mitsui (Japan), Mannesmann (Germany) and GTS (France) manufactured the steel tubes required for the pipelines, while the British-based subsidiaries of multinational Stolt Comex Seaway and Halliburton Services have, respectively, conducted the pipeline tie-in and the Ready For Operation work.

STATOIL



Norway's largest oil and gas operating company, Statoil showed a 1993 sales income of \$11.1 billion. Last year, the company produced 1.4 million barrels of oil per day, primarily from its operations on the Statfjord, Gullfaks, Veslefrikk and Tommeliten fields. Statoil's gas exports amounted to 2.7 billion cubic meters and will reach a 40 billion cubic meter share of a total Norwegian export capacity of 60 billion cubic meters in 2005. In 1996, when most of the Zeeuwpolder transport system is in place, Statoil will operate 3,200 kilometers of offshore pipelines, equivalent to the distance between Oslo and Madrid.

The company is operator of the Sleipner East and West fields, and will become the operator of the giant Troll field in 1996, after current operator Shell has completed the construction phase of the project. Statoil's interest in Troll is 74.576 percent, and it owns a 70 percent stake in the Zeeuwpolder.

Statoil has 14,000 employees and is a leading refining and marketing company in Scandinavia.

ESSO NORGE



Esso Norge drilled the first exploration well on the Norwegian Continental Shelf in 1968. It holds a portfolio containing 2 billion barrels of oil equivalent, the largest oil and gas reserves of any foreign operator in Norway.

The company is heavily involved in the development of the Sleipner East and West fields. It holds equity of 30.4 percent in Sleipner East, 28 percent in Sleipner West and 6 percent in the Zeeuwpolder. Esso's local investments in 1993 amounted to \$364 million, making it the largest foreign investor in Norway.

The company is looking at a development scheme for its 100 percent owned Balder oil field, a complex geological reservoir. Esso was the first company to try floating production testing on the Balder field from a specially built production vessel, the Petrojarl 1. The concept has now been adopted by operators around the world.

Esso Norge produces 80,900 barrels of oil per day and 220.5 million standard cubic feet of gas per day. It is an integrated upstream/downstream company employing 1,191 people. Its 1993 gross revenue was \$1.68 billion.

ed in 1986, however, political events have not only transformed the face of Europe but, to some extent, changed the premises on which the gas industry trades.

versity has become synonymous with supply security. The newly independent republics of Eastern Europe, looking for diversification of supplies, are also showing a growing interest in Norwe-

NORSKE HYDRO



Norsk Hydro is the second-largest oil and gas operator on the Norwegian Shelf, after Statoil. The Norwegian state owns a 51 percent interest in the Norsk Hydro Group, which is also a major manufacturer of fertilizers, metals and chemicals. Total group operating revenues in 1993 were \$8.5 billion, while operating income for oil and gas amounted to \$431 million. Oil and gas production was 9.4 million tons of oil equivalents.

The company is operator of the Oseberg, Brage and Troll oil fields and has substantial interests in most fields discovered on the Norwegian Continental Shelf, including a 7.688 percent share of the Troll gas field. In addition, Norsk Hydro owns 8 percent of the Zeeuwpolder transportation system.

When Norsk Hydro brings the oil reserves of the Troll field on-stream in 1996, it will become the operator of the most ambitious undersea development in the world. It has two other development projects under way for the Visund and Mjorvik fields, located in the North Sea and in the mid-Norway offshore area.

STATOIL'S MELLBYE ON FUTURE FOR GAS

Natural gas's share in the European energy picture is set to increase. While no substantial growth in demand from the European residential sector is anticipated, strong potential for the greater use of gas in power generation has emerged. In a recent interview, Peter Mellbye, president of Statoil's natural gas operations, discussed the future of natural gas in Europe.

Western Europe is looking at cost-effective ways to clean up its environment and minimize pollution. What is the role of gas in this context?

Natural gas is the answer, not just because it is cleaner energy, but also because it is a cost-effective alternative to other fuels in power generation. While technological improvements have increased the efficiency of burning gas in power generation, the investment cost per produced unit of electricity is substantially lower for a gas-fired plant than for a coal plant. To start with, a gas-fired plant is of a very much smaller size than a coal-fired plant, which also requires storage capacity for the coal. A gas-fired plant can be placed close to the end-users, so considerable savings on the transport of electricity can be achieved. Moreover, a gas-fired plant does not require additional expensive technology to release clean emissions into the atmosphere. Not only does the combustion of gas save the atmosphere from sulfur and nitrogen oxides, but carbon-dioxide emissions are halved compared with those of coal burning.

Natural laws such as Germany's impose a special import tax on natural gas. This makes it difficult for gas to compete against coal and oil for power generation. Beyond each nation's energy choices, isn't the price of gas a challenge?

We are much more preoccupied by gas price levels



Peter Mellbye, president of Statoil's natural gas operations.

than by volumes. Currently, the gas price is tied to the oil price, which means that in a period of low oil prices, as is the case now, the producer takes a greater financial risk than the distributor or consumer. This also means that new gas field developments

in an oil price scenario of \$13 to \$14 per barrel will be less profitable, if profitable at all - even more so when new gas will have to be produced from farther-away fields and transported over longer pipeline distances to reach the markets. Our share of risk-taking translates into finding steadily more cost-effective development technologies.

Considering the more than \$18 billion invested in infrastructure for the Troll gas agreement, would Norway have given the go-ahead to the new Sleipner and Troll field developments and new Zeeuwpolder and Ennpipe infrastructure in today's lower oil price context?

The market conquered through the Troll gas agreement is that of a more and more environmentally conscious Europe. The energy legislation and environmental developments inside the European Union will be of extreme importance to Norway and will affect Norway's gas strategy in the fu-

ture. Although we must accept that gas is in competition with other fuels, the price relation between oil and gas should not be automatic. Producers and buyers should, in a dynamic process, consider whether this price link is still justified when taking into account the environmental advantages provided by gas.

In making clean natural gas a priority, East Germany has accepted the consequences of its choice and is willing to pay the market price for it. For Norway, are such moves for greater use of natural gas encouraging?

At present, it is the economics of the transport of gas that decide where in Europe we can export. It is, for example, uneconomic for Norway to transport gas all the way to Italy and Portugal with the current oil and gas prices. Poland and the Czech Republic are, in principle, interesting markets. But it will be their ability to pay the market price that will decide whether or not Norway exports gas to them.

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TOTAL



Total Norge was established on the Norwegian Shelf in early 1965. Since then, the subsidiary of the French Total Group has become the third-largest owner of unsold gas on the Norwegian Shelf, after the Norwegian nationals Statoil and Norsk Hydro. Total has one of the most diversified portfolios on the shelf, with stakes in over 38 licenses.

The company has a presence in oil and gas fields located in the North Sea, the mid-Norway offshore area and the Barents Sea. It is, in addition, a partner in all major oil and gas transportation systems on the Norwegian Shelf, including the Zeeuwpolder, with a 1.2985 percent interest. The company is also operator of the Pelk and Hild fields, which are envisioned to become mature for development some time after the year 2000.

Total's investments in Norway amounted to \$178 million in 1993. Total Norge has 135 employees and filed consolidated operating income of \$423 million in 1993. The company produces approximately 55,000 barrels of oil equivalent a day.

ADVERTISING SECTION

Gas Energy for Europe

TROLL SALES AGREEMENTS BREAK NEW GROUND

ELF

TROLL

Elf was established in Norway in 1968 under the name Petropar Norge, a subsidiary of Petropar France, itself a subsidiary of ERAP. Together with Norsk Hydro and a number of French companies, including Total and Aquitaine, it formed the Petronord group, with Petropar as the operator. The Petronord group was awarded 12 licenses in the first Norwegian concession round. In 1967, the name Elf was introduced in France, and the Norwegian subsidiary became Elf Norge.

In 1971, Elf discovered the Frigg field. It was declared commercial the following year.

In 1977, Elf Norge and Aquitaine Norge merged to become Elf Aquitaine Norge. Elf has distinguished itself as an innovator in undersea production. It is now pioneering new techniques for production from high-temperature and high-pressure reservoirs.

The company filed a 1983 operating result of \$915 million. Its daily oil production amounts to 72,000 barrels per day, with gas production of 9.5 million cubic meters per day. Elf has a 2.363 percent interest in the Troll field and a 3.2985 percent interest in the Zeepipe.

Since Oct. 1, 1993, the Zeepipe pipeline has made it possible for Norwegian gas to cross four new borders on the Continent. These are the coast of Belgium at Zeebrugge, where the landing terminal is located; Oberkappel at the German-Austrian border; Blaregnies at the French-Belgian border; and Port de Larrau at the French-Spanish border. Norwegian gas exports last year totaled 24.2 billion cubic meters of primarily associated gas from the Statfjord, Gullfaks, Heimdal and Ekofisk fields. Annual deliveries under the Troll gas agreement will reach 44.7 billion cubic meters by the year 2005.

The volumes contracted by each country are 22 billion cubic meters for Germany, 8 billion cubic meters for France, 5.6 billion cubic meters for the Netherlands, 5.5 billion cubic meters for Belgium, 2.1 billion cubic meters for Spain and 1.6 billion cubic meters for Austria. At the moment, Germany is the largest single buyer of Norwegian gas, and its market share for Norwegian gas under the Troll gas sales agreement will increase from the current 14 percent to 29 percent in 2005. In France, it will increase from 17 percent to 31 percent and in Belgium from 24 percent to 33 percent, while in the Netherlands it will double, to around 14 percent. In addition, the Troll gas agreement has crossed two new borders, as it now penetrates the Austrian and Spanish markets, with respective shares of 13 percent and 12 percent.

The Troll gas sales agreements have been concluded between the shareholders of the Troll gas field and a number of companies involved in gas trading or power generation on the Continent. The sellers include the Norwegian State Oil Company (Statoll), with a 74.576 percent share in the Troll field; Norsk Hydro, 7.688 percent; Saga Petroleum, 4.080 percent; Norske Shell, 8.288 percent; Conoco Norway, 2.015 percent; Elf Petroleum, 2.353 percent; and Total Norway, 1 percent.

The buyers are Ruhrgas (14.2 billion cubic meters), BEB (5.4 billion cubic meters) and Thyssengas (2.4 billion cubic meters) for Germany; Gasunie (3.6 billion cubic meters) and SEP (2 billion cubic meters) for the Netherlands; Distrigaz (3.6 billion cubic meters) and Electrabel (1.9 billion cubic meters) for Belgium; Gaz de France (8 billion cubic meters) for France; Enagas (2.1 billion cubic meters) for Spain; and Austria Ferngas/OMV (1.6 billion cubic meters) for Austria. In addition, the East German company Verbundnetz Gas signed a 4 billion cubic meter contract with Norway in December 1993, while Ruhrgas recently increased its volumes by an additional 2 billion cubic meters.

Only 5.4 billion cubic meters of the total volume negotiated under the Troll gas sales agreement still await a final commitment by customers. Statoll is in charge of the Norwegian gas sales, and observers believe that all options will be exercised by the scheduled deadline of 1995. In addition, new volumes are currently under negotiation, in particular 4 billion cubic meters for Gaz de France.

Markets in Southern Europe such as Spain and Portugal are looking at an expansion of their gas-fired industry. Meanwhile, expand-

ing East European markets such as Poland and the Czech Republic have expressed their interest in Norwegian gas and could decide to commit to new volumes in the not-too-distant future.

The volumes already contracted for, combined with the increasing interest in Norwegian gas in Europe, is creating demand for several new pipelines, some of which are already under construction or in the planning stages. Europipe I, now being built, will expand the Zeepipe system with a new 600-kilometer (375-mile) link starting in the Sleipner area and ending in the north German Wattenmeer wildlife park via a specially built tunnel. This project, requiring a \$1.8 billion investment and due to become operational in October 1995, will serve the growing German market.

There is a great need in Eastern Germany and in East European countries to replace heavily polluting brown coal in power and heat generation plants with clean energy sources. The Europipe II pipeline has already been approved to double the transport capacity of Norwegian natural gas to Central and Eastern Europe. This fourth gas trunkline to the Continent will permit the necessary transport flexibility to modulate new gas contracts and increase the current contracts in the Norwegian gas portfolio.

Preliminary studies for a fifth trunkline to the Continent are also under way. This extension of the Zeepipe system, known as Zeepipe IV, could be completed at the same time as Europipe II, around the year 2000, and land in Belgium, the Netherlands or France. This pipeline would be dedicated to the markets along



At work on the Troll gravity-base structure, or platform, which will be towed to the field in 1995.

the Atlantic coastline, but would also provide Continental Europe with additional transport flexibility and reliability, as the entire European grid interlinks at most borders. In view of current market demand and potential

for growth, primarily in the power generation and industrial sectors, Norway plans to develop its gas reserves in the mid-Norway offshore area as part of the Troll gas agreement. For this it will need a capital expenditure of

\$5.4 billion for infrastructure comprising platforms and a new pipeline link to tie into the Zeepipe system. Although the plans have a flexible time frame, pending new contracts, the year 2000 is considered a realistic goal.

CONOCO

TROLL

Conoco's presence on the Norwegian Shelf dates back to 1965, the year of the first concession round on the Norwegian Shelf. Through participation in some of the largest oil fields on the Norwegian Shelf, such as Statfjord, Murchison, Ula and Gyda, Conoco has built up an oil production that averaged 70,000 barrels per day in 1993, as well as significant gas production. In 1993, Conoco had 330 employees and filed gross revenues of \$493 million.

Conoco is a 1.681 percent shareholder in the Troll field and owns a 1.4030 percent stake in the Zeepipe. Conoco is also the operator of the Heidrun field, which contains reserves of 630 million barrels of oil and 45 billion cubic meters of gas, located in the mid-Norway Haltenbank area. The field, in which Conoco holds 18.125 percent equity, is being developed by means of a tension-leg platform in concrete, a world premier in the offshore oil industry.

Through the Heidrun project, Conoco has been setting new trends, in particular in the use of materials like titanium in risers and pipes.

SAGA PETROLEUM

TROLL

Saga Petroleum is the third most important Norwegian operator. It is privately owned and employs a staff of 1,300. In 1993, Saga's oil production averaged 98,400 barrels per day, and its 1993 gas sales reached 468 million cubic meters. The company filed total operating revenues of \$780 million for 1993, a result that shows steady growth.

Saga is operator of the Snorre field, a field produced by means of a tension-leg platform and a very large undersea production system. This summer, Saga will put the Tordis oil field on-stream by means of undersea completed wells, and will become the largest undersea operator on the Norwegian Shelf.

The company is also operator of the Midgard field, located in the mid-Norway Haltenbank area. This field contains reserves of 100 billion cubic meters of gas and is considered a likely development candidate under the Troll gas agreement.

In addition, Saga owns 3 percent of the Zeepipe infrastructure and a 4.080 percent share of the Troll field.

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SPORTS

Shades of 1990:
Reds, on a Roll,
Rout Cubs, 8-2

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches
It's looking a little like 1990 at Riverfront Stadium these days.
With seven victories in eight games, the Cincinnati Reds, who were World Series champions in 1990, have the best record in the majors at 13-5. The latest came Tuesday night, when Tim Lincecum pitched a five-hitter in an 8-2 rout of the Chicago Cubs.

"It seems everybody is doing so well," Lincecum said. "You don't want to be the one to mess it up. The clubhouse is great."
Last year, he was 10-5. This season, he is 2-0. Against the Cubs, Lincecum walked three and struck out

would have been its sixth loss in seven games.

Mark Wohlers gave up a game-tying homer to Orestes Desiderio, his third, leading off the seventh inning.
Expos 7, Giants 3: Shortstop Royce Clayton's two-run throwing error and Cliff Floyd's sacrifice fly in fifth helped Montreal rally from a 3-1 deficit against visiting San Francisco.

Cardinals 2, Rockies 1: Bob Tewksbury cooled off the league's highest-scoring team, striking out a career-high 10 in St. Louis and becoming the first five-game winner in the majors.

He held Colorado to five hits and walked none in his second straight complete game. He has won 9 of his last 11 starts since Aug. 28.
Ray Lankford led off the first with a homer, and Terry McGriff added a run-scoring single in the second.

Pirates 7, Astros 4: Doubles by Brian Hunter and Carlos Garcia helped Pittsburgh score four runs and overcome a 4-3 eighth-inning deficit in San Diego. (AP, NYT)

NL ROUNDUP

one in his fourth complete game in 37 major league starts. The Cubs scored both runs in the second, then got just two runners into scoring position the rest of the game.
Early on, our bullpen was kind of carrying us," said the Reds' manager, Davey Johnson. "Now our starters are all doing an exceptional job. Every guy goes out and tries to do better than the previous guy. It's a nice little thing they've got going."

Thomas Howard, making his third start, and Tony Fernandez each drove in three runs.
"It's good to win the types of games we've had the last couple of days," Howard said. "We fall behind early, but everybody is still in the game. When we've gotten opportunities to score, we haven't missed those chances. That's the mark of a good team."

The Cubs have lost 9 of their last 11 games and are 5-13, the worst record in the majors.

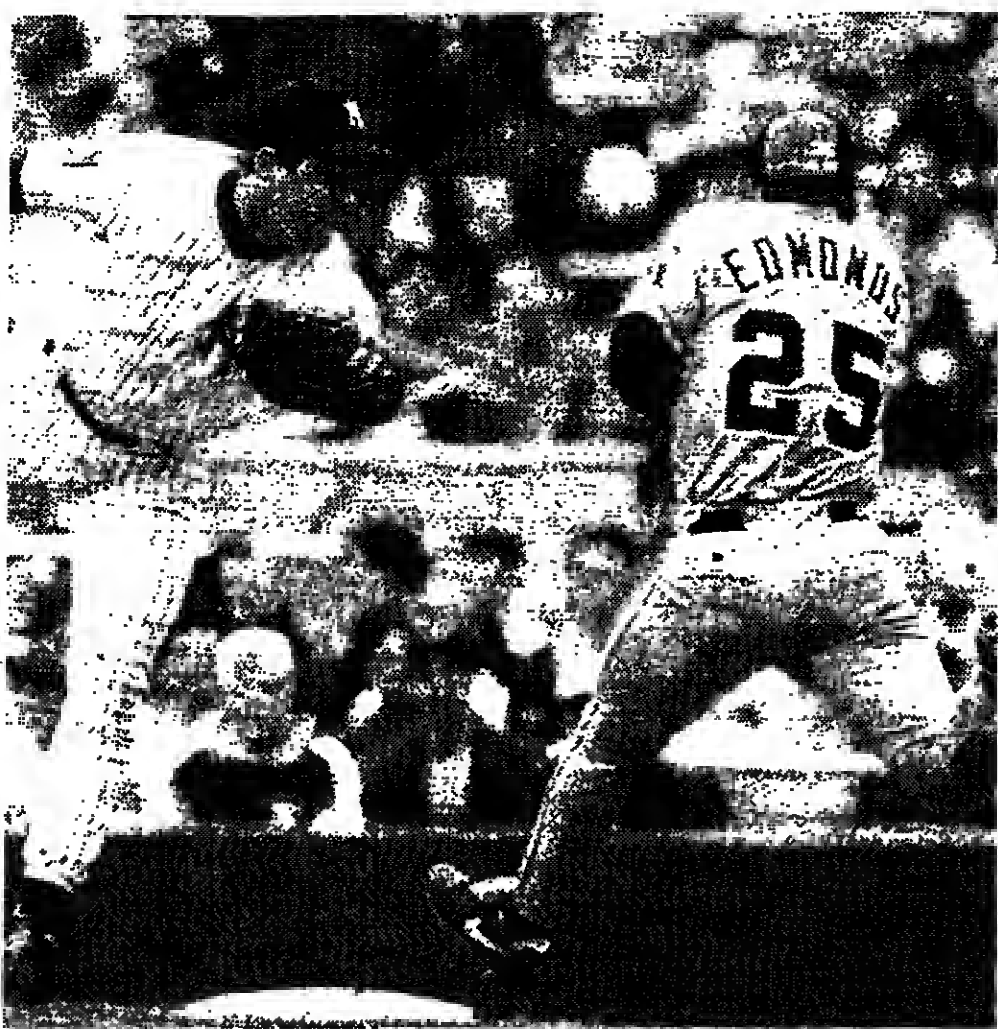
Padres 6, Mets 3: Hours after he was charged with soliciting a prostitute on a Manhattan street, Scott Sanders got his first save in the majors, pitching 1 1/2 innings in relief of a former Met, Wally Whitehurst, who pitched his career-high nine strikeouts and allowed three runs and five hits in seven innings.

Phil Plantier homered and hit a two-run double for San Diego.
Sanders, who was to start the game, and Derek Bell, who was wearing a World Series championship ring from his days with the Toronto Blue Jays, were among several suspects arrested Tuesday in a continuing police effort against prostitution.

Sanders and Bell, both 25 and single, were charged with misdemeanors and face up to three months in jail and fines of up to \$500 if convicted. Both pleaded not guilty.

Dodgers 4, Phillies 3: Henry Rodriguez and Raul Mondesi singled in runs in the seventh as Los Angeles rallied from a 2-0 deficit and visiting Philadelphia posted its second four-game losing streak this season.

Brewers 9, Marlins 6: Mike Kelly, a rookie, got his first major-league RBIs with a three-run double that broke a 6-6 tie in the eighth as visiting Atlanta avoided what



The Angels' Jim Edmonds was hit in the neck by a throw from shortstop Mike Gallego that Yankee first baseman Jim Leyritz couldn't reach. Edmonds was taken to a hospital, but wasn't seriously hurt.

A Breeze for Rangers, 6-1, Over Tigers

The Associated Press

Not since Stu Miller was blown off the mound in Candlestick Park during the 1961 All-Star Game has the wind caused more trouble for a pitcher than the opposing batters.
Rick Helling, the winner, was knocked off-balance by gusts of up to 50 miles an hour, and the high winds caused a 45-minute delay Tuesday night at The Ballpark in Arlington, Texas, as the Rangers blew by the Detroit Tigers, 6-1.

"I caught myself several times before I came set, because I was worried the umpires were going to call a balk," Helling said. "A couple of times I stumbled because of the wind. I've never seen anything close to that."

The wind forced the team to move fans from the upper deck to lower areas, while outside the stadium the wind uprooted several trees in the parking lot and blew down a street light.

Inside the stadium, it turned Jose Canseco's fly ball to shallow center into a popout that fell near the feet

of the Tigers' first baseman, Cecil Fielder.

Several hours earlier, a tornado struck the north Texas town of Gainesville. On Monday, a tornado touched down in Lancaster, south of Dallas, and killed four people.

In the top of the sixth inning, Helling was blown around just be-

AL ROUNDUP

fore he began his windup. In the bottom of the sixth, with light rain starting to fall, play was stopped.
The Tigers' starter, Mike Moore, left after the wind delay, and Texas scored three times against Jose Lima for a 6-1 lead. Helling gave up one run on seven hits to six innings.

"It was a very interesting night," said the Rangers' first baseman, Will Clark, who played eight seasons in San Francisco. "I said in the dugout that I thought I'd got the hook out of Candlestick. This was worse than Candlestick ever was."

Kansas Scholar Set to Become AL President

New York Times Service

NEW YORK — Gene Budig, the chancellor of the University of Kansas, has won the recommendation of a search committee to be the next president of the American League, according to two executives familiar with the committee's deliberations.

The committee's recommendation is tantamount to election, which would presumably take place at the owners' next scheduled meeting, June 8.
Budig, 55, a member of the Kansas City Royals' board of directors for the past year, will succeed Bobby Brown, who is in his 11th year as the league's president. Len Coleman recently succeeded Bill White as National League president.

The selection of Budig leaves vacant only the position

of commissioner in major-league baseball's hierarchy. George J. Mitchell, the Senate majority leader, is considered a virtual certainty for that position unless he unexpectedly declines the offer when it is made.

The American League committee selected Budig from a list of candidates that included Peter Bynoe, a former managing partner of the Denver Nuggets; Bill Schweitzer, the league attorney; and Peter Widdington, chairman of the Toronto Blue Jays.

The last person major-league baseball plucked from academia was A. Bartlett Giamatti, who went from being president of Yale to being president of the National League in 1987, then commissioner in 1989. He served as commissioner for only five months before he died of a heart attack.

winning streak as he took a shutout into the ninth in Yankee Stadium before firing.

Anderson struck out five in his fifth big league start. He left after Gerald Williams's two-out, two-run double.

Dwight Smith homered and drove in three runs for California.

Jim Edmonds of the Angels was hit in the neck by a throw from shortstop Mike Gallego in the second inning and carried off the field on a stretcher. He was X-rayed at a hospital and was back in the clubhouse before the game ended.

Mariners 4, Red Sox 3: Pitcher Greg Harris made a wild throw on a bases-loaded grounder by Torey Lovullo with one out in the 10th, giving Seattle its victory over visiting Boston.

The Mariners loaded the bases on Rich Amaral's double and two intentional walks. Lovullo grounded back to Harris, who threw past his catcher, Dave Valle. Lovullo was credited with an RBI on the fielder's choice.

White Sox 3, Brewers 0: Ozzie Guillen hit two RBI singles and Alex Fernandez pitched his second shutout of the season as host Chicago stopped Milwaukee's five-game winning streak.

Fernandez gave up just six singles to the team that beat him five days earlier. Last year, he had one shutout in 34 starts.

Indians 11, Twins 3: Manny Ramirez hit a three-run homer and Candy Maldonado also connected as Cleveland ended its four-game home losing streak.

Kenny Loftus tripled, doubled, drove in two runs and scored twice for the Indians, while Albert Belle doubled twice.

Real NBA Season Begins
In West, Suns and Sonics Expect to Tango

By Harvey Araton

New York Times Service

PHOENIX — Four and a half minutes had gone by, and the Seattle SuperSonics could not score one basket. The stretch run came, and the National Basketball Association's best regular-season team was outscored, 15-1. The Sonics did not make the extra pass, did not get inside, did not quite look like future champs.

Jump shot by Kendall Gill, no good. Jump shot by Shawn Kemp, off the back rim. Jump shot by Gary Payton, just short. Three-point shot by Sam Perkins, way off.

A game the Sonics did not have to win last week but wanted to have was ripped from their grasp. Charles Barkley took over the last nine minutes with 11 points, 8 rebounds and an encyclopedic volume of unassisted trash location. "Oh, we know we can beat them," Barkley said later, still taunting after the Suns' 122-116 victory.

Maybe Phoenix's winning the game was not as important as how Seattle lost it, by having one man stand and deliver, as Barkley did for the Suns. No maybe about it, what the Suns would take from this game was the notion that the Sonics, steeped as they are in talent, have no superstar core, that they are lacking the most essential championship ingredient of all.

"One man doesn't win the title by himself," said Karl, the Sonics' closest to Barkleyville. "I haven't seen one man other than Michael Jordan dominate the game, but now we see there were some other players on his team, too."

Fair assessment or not, the 1993-94 SuperSonics could become the first NBA champion with no transcendent star since the SuperSonics of 1978-79, the Sonics of Dennis Johnson, Gus Williams, Jack Sikma and Fred (Downtown) Brown.

Five teams have won titles between then and now, all with at least one universally acclaimed franchise player. The Sonics of then were with defense and balance, as do the Sonics of now, the Sonics of Kemp, Payton, Gill, Dede Schrempf, Nate McMillan, Sam Perkins and Ricky Pierce.

"I like the idea of the team being the reason we're successful instead of the individual," said George Karl, who was a volatile head coach with Cleveland and then Golden State in the 1980s. Now, at 42, having paid his dues in bush league outposts from Montana to Madrid, he is the master manipulator of the league's most versatile lineup.

Believing that his defensive pressure and running game will wear down any opponent, Karl dispenses minutes at no greater rate than the 35 a night earned by the point guard, Payton, who is one of the two All-Stars on the team.

The other is Kemp, a 6-foot-10-inch, 245-pound package of staggering power and speed, one of the young NBA dunkaholics bent on throwing down monstrous slams and starting down the bumbledunkers.

At 24, Kemp is already a five-year veteran, never having played a game of college ball — a 1988 University of Kentucky recruit who found trouble at a troubled program, and wound up, at 19, seeking amnesty in the NBA.

"Sometimes," he said, "I feel like I've gone from 17 to 24."

No one questions Kemp's skills. Early in the second half against Phoenix, he pulled the ball off the defensive board, crossed over on the dribble going up the right sideline, split two Suns near the key and blew down the lane for a primal scream of a dunk.

"He's one of the few players in the game with the talent to play the whole game through," said Karl.

But because Karl limits his minutes, because the Sonics' shot distribution has been remarkably balanced with four players bunched between 1,100 and 1,400, Kemp averages what Karl calls a misleading 16 points and 10 rebounds.

"If there's been someone better than him the last two months, I'd like to see him," Karl said. "He's been putting up those numbers night in, night out, and there's been about 10 fourth quarters he didn't even play."

"You're kidding yourself if you don't think Shawn's in the top five."

For Karl, having to answer these

'One man doesn't win the title by himself'

Shawn Kemp

questions about Kemp, about his team, after so many victories, has become an unwelcome chore.

The coach's pained look and slow inhalation typify his response to standard Sonics skepticism. He is tired of having to explain why his up-tempo offense, fueled by a trapping, freewheeling defense, will fly in the playoffs.

He is contemptuous of such opponents as the SuperSonics, who speak of the playoffs — the Suns open the first round on Friday night playing host to Golden State, and the Sonics are host to Golden State on Thursday night — as if they bear no relation to the regular season.

"The smart teams know we're the team to beat," Johnson said on the day the Sonics rolled into Phoenix, winners in 25 of their previous 29 games.

How many championships has Phoenix won, with Barkley, or Houston, with Hakeem Olajuwon, or the Knicks, with Patrick Ewing? Karl asks. Why isn't it as plain to everyone else as it is to him that the Sonics are the classiest of the contenders for Michael Jordan's vacated throne?

"It's a fine line for every team, but I just don't see anyone who can beat us in seven games," he said.

He speaks of the Sonics as if they are a work of art, a Bob Whitsitt-George Karl masterpiece. Kemp and Payton, the defensive catalysts, are the team's foundation, young stars who have evolved, year to year. Veterans like McMillan, the backup point guard, Michael Cage, the power forward, and Pierce, the hired gunslinger, were either in place or picked up along the way.

The puzzle was completed between seasons when Whitsitt, the general manager, added two prime-

time players, the shooting guard Gill and the 6-foot-10-inch Schrempf, while surrendering just one starter, Derrick McKey.

"Most teams are predictable," said Cage, a 10-year veteran and six-year Sonics. "With Utah, you know John Stockton's going inside to Karl Malone. Olajuwon in Houston, predictable. Robinson in San Antonio, predictable."

"With us, it's difficult to prepare. We can go big, we can go small. We can run, we can go to Shawn on the block. We've learned to play around the Robinsons, the Olajuwons, the Ewings. We have all the cards in place."

There is still the question of the ace, especially the ace of hearts. Other teams may have fewer options, but their leadership, their pecking order, is also clearly defined.

Come playoff, fourth-quarter crunch time, when possessions must be nurtured, can a championship team have an offensive philosophy that Schrempf half-jokingly described as, "Whoever's there first gets the shot, you know?"

Payton and Kemp will say they will make sure the Sonics play to their strengths. They will tell you what they tell their opponents, only less colorfully, fit for print, that they are the new sheriffs out West, the new, improved, up-tempo version of Stockton-Malone, with a far superior supporting cast.

"We're not going to get no respect, that's for the teams in the East," Payton said. "After we win the championship, then we'll let everyone know where we came from."

Just because he has to be different, or just to annoy Kemp, Barkley recently went out on a limb and nominated Payton for the league's most valuable player. "He's the best player on our team, in my opinion," Barkley said.

"That's nice of him, but I'll leave that to David Robinson and Hakeem," Payton replied. "Our whole team is the MVP."

Kemp added: "Most teams have one or two go-to guys. We have seven or eight, but if one else on this team wants to shoot the ball, I'll shoot it. I know I love to take the last-second shots."

Being the leader, the franchise player, is more than that, of course. It is more than flinging fourth-quarter shots to the rim. It is being prepared for every outcome, every imaginable situation, and some unimaginable, along the road deep into June.

The ball doesn't always bounce the way a round ball should. It doesn't always go where you think it should. Sometimes it comes back when you least expect it to, the way it did at Kemp late in the fourth quarter against the Suns.

Frustrated by the Sonics' late collapse, by Barkley's big body and mouth, Kemp suddenly flung the ball with two hands at Sir Charles from about 5 feet away.

Ever alert, Barkley made a neat two-handed grab. He sent it right back at Kemp, who wasn't ready. The ball struck him in the chest and bounced away. It was a superstar move by Barkley, turning Kemp's macho display right back at him.

"The most important thing," explained Sir Charles, "is learning to finish the play."

DENNIS THE MENACE



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محمد بن الوكيل

Colombia's Asprilla: A Shooting Star Who Sometimes Self-Destructs

other "double" as Parma rallied to beat Sweden's Degerfors, 2-1, in the Cup Winners' Cup competition, and finished off the week with three goals against Torino in an Italian league match.

And while Parma was out of the running for its first division title by March, the club has reached the finals of the Cup Winners' Cup for the second straight year.

Columbia's early elimination during the 1994 Olympics makes Asprilla cautious when assessing his country's chances in the upcoming World Cup.

"We have a very difficult World Cup group," he says, speaking softly and looking in his feet, like a waryward but good-natured parishioner in confession. "It will be difficult just to make it to the second round. The important thing is for us to play well. I don't want to just talk about drugs and murder when it thinks of Bogota or Medellin. There are honest people in our country as well. The majority of them. These are the people who want to represent."

That he will do this well on the playing field is likely. That he will be equally flamboyant off the field is likely, too.

of goalie Guy Hebert of the St. Louis Blues. But Team USA rebounded with four goals in the first nine minutes of the second period.

First, the Edmonton Oilers' Shiyon Podzev passed from in back of the goal to Patric Neaton of the Pittsburgh Penguins' organization, who pushed the puck home.

Captain Craig Wolanin of Quebec scored on a power play with a sizzling wrist shot from inside the blue line. Edmonton's Boh Bednarek nailed a slap shot from the slot on another power play, and Danton Cole of Tampa Bay scored off a pass from Anaheim's Tim Sweeney.

Jalabert Wins Again in Spain

The Associated Press

CACERES, Spain—Jalabert of France won a strong sprint to win today's third stage of Spain cycling race.

Jean Paul Van Poppeveldt of Netherlands and Baffi of Italy.

The 25-year-old had been awarded second stage as runner-up winner. Baffi was criticized for elbowing teammate Mario Cipollini in a frantic sprint.

Cipollini, who fell from the finish, rendered observation for injuries in a hospital in Rome. He had withdrawn race.

Tony Rominger of Switzerland held on to lead the two-time champion led Baffi's friends, Switzerland's Marcel Kittel by 20 and Spain's Muri by 24.

May 4, said he has been working on a plan to be released from pri-

[illegible]

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ART BUCHWALD

Expert on the Stand

WASHINGTON—One of the things that makes the American legal system so fair is that in any civil suit lawyers are permitted to call "experts" who will testify in favor of their clients. There are now almost as many experts as lawyers in this country, and some of them make more money than the people they're working for.

I got the word on what an expert's profession was like by talking to Dr. Zeigfried Bibbman in the hall of the Superior Court House of Los Angeles. He was waiting to be called to testify in a defective turf case.

"How long did you practice medicine before you became a legal expert?"

He replied, "I never actually practiced medicine. When I graduated from medical school I discovered that the really big money in doctoring was in the courtroom. I charge \$600 an hour for testifying and \$750 for a second opinion. I have given testimony in almost 2,000 lawsuits."

"On what basis do you choose your cases?"

"It depends which lawyer gets to me first. In this case I am here because the plaintiff got to me

ahead of the defendant. I plan to testify that the plaintiff's injuries were caused by the faulty artificial turf when she slid into first base."

"But, doctor, you can't sue when a person slides into first."

"So what? I'm the expert and they'll have to take my word for it."

Dr. Bibbman told me that hired medical experts were the key to successful malpractice suits. "Because we appear only in courtrooms and never in hospitals, we are the unsung heroes of our profession."

"Do you ever change your opinion about the cause of an injury during the course of the trial?"

"Once in a while."

"Was it because you felt that you were wrong?"

"No, it was because the lawyer was refusing to pay me. It was his mistake because the jury was flabbergasted when I switched horses in midstream."

"I assume that you testify for anyone?"

"I'll testify for the meter maid in the street if she can come up with the money. An expert doctor must serve one and all."

"What makes a good medical witness?" I asked.

"It's someone who swears to tell the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth, and then spends the rest of his time on the stand lying through his teeth. But he has to look believable. That's why I always wear this stethoscope when I take the stand."

"How do lawyers find you?"

"I have a reputation of being one of the most knowledgeable experts in the business and also for telling the court exactly what my client wants them to hear."

"What was your greatest triumph?"

"It was a dandruff case. The client was a shampoo company that was sued by a man who claimed that the product gave him dandruff instead of getting rid of it. I testified that the man had bay fever, and this in turn caused dandruff particles to attach themselves to his head when he sneezed."

"And the judge threw the man's case out?"

"Not only that, but because I had successfully testified in his court 100 times he invited me back for tea."



Buchwald

British Library Buying 16th-Century Bible

LONDON—The British Library has announced that it is buying the only known first edition of the English-language Tyndale Bible, but most of the £1 million pound (\$1.5 million) price has yet to be raised.

The library described the 16th-century William Tyndale translation of the Bible as the most exciting acquisition in its 240-year history. The volume is being sold by Bristol Baptist College, where it has been since 1784. The library has made a payment of £200,000 pounds but the balance must be raised over the next two years.

Reggae's Shepherd Going His Own Way

By Mike Zwerin

PARIS—Sitting at a table in the empty bar of the Intercontinental Hotel in mid-afternoon, Jimmy Cliff was comfortable with himself in the third person: "When they wanted to bring reggae to America, they sent Jimmy Cliff. When they wanted to bring reggae to England, they sent Jimmy Cliff. When they wanted to bring reggae to Africa, they sent Jimmy Cliff."

Reminded of Cliff, few would deny his importance. He has been the shepherd of reggae, paving the way. He says he got Bob Marley his first gig. But the need for reminder remains. I asked him what he's been doing lately because his record company (Sony) biography ends in Orwellian fashion in 1984.

"I have my own way as an artist," he replied in lifting Rastafarian English. "Sometimes it helps me sometimes it doesn't. I wanted to have my own record label and I did. I love South America and Africa and I have been spending a lot of time there living and touring, even though it reduced my exposure in the rest of the world. You can't have big platinum albums without an international management and recording nucleus around you."

Ten years ago, Cliff had the same manager as Meat Loaf. Not that he's proud of it, or ashamed, he just mentions it to illustrate the business level he was on and would be on now if he hadn't decided on his own way. But it's time to change. He's decided that a little ambition is not unhealthy.

Change involves circling the globe (he arrived here from Brazil) to promote his recording of Johnny Nash's song "I Can See Clearly Now," featured in the Disney film "Cool Runnings." Released as "Rasta Rockett" in France, it is about the Jamaican bobsled team and has a fine cast and good vibes despite a corny screenplay. Cliff likes making other people's songs his own. His own songs have been covered by Bruce Springsteen, Percy Sledge, Martha Reeves, Nilsson and Linda Ronstadt.

Born James Chambers in 1948, Cliff grew up in the hillside village of St. Ann. He sang and played the guitar and piano for the Pentecostal church, moved to Kingston to make his fortune, changed his name to Cliff, which implied heights, and began to get ripped off by producers and record companies.

He was paid his fare for his first record, "Daisy Got Me Crazy," and £15 for the next one, "I'm Sorry." The Chinese-Jamaican

can Leslie (King) Kong became the reggae producer of the 1960s thanks largely to Cliff, who mixed Jamaican ska with American soul music and became a local cult hero. He signed with Island Records, of the Jamaican-born Englishman Chris Blackwell, and moved to London.

He had trouble with British Customs, and landlords were not nice to him. "It was rough, a trying time, but I learned a lot. I wrote 'Many Rivers to Cross' when I was lost in the English countryside. I'd been doing a lot of drugs. I was in a confused state. No money, no food, no shelter. Just my guitar. I'd stop at houses and people would offer me fish and chips now and then. The British press was always putting down reggae, but when my song 'Wonderful World' came out with strings on it, they complained I was watering down reggae, commercializing it. I couldn't figure that out." It became his first worldwide hit.

His song "Waterfall," which had bombed in Britain, hit the charts in Brazil. He went there for 10 days and stayed almost a year. As reggae spread across the planet, Cliff toured South America from Panama to Argentina. The filmmaker Perry Henzell saw his photograph on the jacket of "Wonderful World" and asked him to play Ivan in his movie "The Harder They Come."

Modeled after the Jamaican outlaw-hero Rygen, Ivan comes from the countryside to Kingston, gets ripped off by producers and record companies and becomes an outlaw and local cult hero. Cliff put a lot of himself into it. "It was a pretty accurate portrayal of the Jamaican music scene." He became an international cult hero.

He is descended in part from Maroons, escaped Jamaican slaves who waged guerrilla war against 18th-century English settlers. In 1774, he went to Nigeria to study Islam. Considering Africa "my natural environment," he has traveled "north, south, east and west" on the continent. He performed for 25,000 people in Harare, Zimbabwe. In 1980, he toured South Africa, after which he was blacklisted, picketed and banned in some countries, including Barbados and Antigua.

"I understand their point," he said. "They thought that the apartheid system could get political mileage out of the fact that Jimmy Cliff is black and they let him play for integrated audiences. But I didn't see anybody picking Boeing for selling 747s to South African Airlines. "And they should have looked at the



Jimmy Cliff has decided that a little ambition is not unhealthy.

content of my work. My trip to South Africa was maybe the most useful thing I've ever done. Somebody in Soweto told me that my songs are like 'reading the psalms' for him. Reggae is made by black people who want a piece of the pie. I want a piece of the pie—now. We've learned to take a little of it for ourselves. Like me with my own record company."

Cliff's label, Sun Power, released three of his albums since 1984. They were distributed by small companies because the big ones refused. Why? "The music on those albums was music I really wanted to make. A lot of it was political. The multinational companies did not like the content. Also it was very raw. I used local bands. I wanted it that way."

In 1986, he made the movie "Club Paradise" with Robin Williams, Peter O'Toole and Twiggy, which he thought was "very good while they were shooting it. But the editing could have been better." The movie went nowhere.

It remains to be seen if Jimmy Cliff, an institution and an enigma who is every-

where and nowhere at the same time, will rise from the ashes of his own "ways" to star in the Northern Hemisphere again. Meanwhile in Kingston where he still shines, reggae has mixed with rap to become ragga. The beat has changed from the standard one-drop to something resembling mento, an indigenous Jamaican style which, he says, is easier for African-Americans to dance to.

"People think it's fresh but actually it's back to the roots. The music has changed every decade, along with the spirit of the people. In the '70s, reggae was about spirituality, it dealt with evolving the human spirit. Now it focuses more on sex than love. Like rap. It's the age."

"In Jamaica the middle and upper classes listen to Michael Jackson and Whitney Houston, the poor listen to reggae. They cannot go to Miami and do some shopping and all that. So when Saturday and Sunday come they just dance and dance. That's the way it is now and that's the way it was 30 years ago. This has not changed. Reggae is music for poor people. I know, I was one of them."

PEOPLE

A New Puppet Raises Marriage Expectations

The perception that Sophie Rhys-Jones will marry Prince Edward has been reinforced by a new puppet likeness in the cast of a television satire show. "Spitting Image" sends up public figures with puppets and has lampooned the British royal family. The company that commissions the show confirmed Wednesday that a puppet of the prince, blonde Rhys-Jones would appear for the first time when a new series begins Sunday.

Paul Watson of The Toronto Star won the Robert Capa Gold Medal from the Overseas Press Club of America for his photo of a U.S. serviceman being dragged through Mogadishu, Somalia. Rick Lyman of The Philadelphia Inquirer won the Hal Boyle Award for best reporting from abroad by a newspaper or wire service, for his articles from Somalia. The Cable News Network got two awards and a citation for excellence, including one for spot coverage of the 1993 rebellion against President Boris Yeltsin in Moscow. The New Yorker magazine also won three, one for the best reporting on human rights, one to Mark Danner for his story of the 1981 massacre of civilians in El Salvador, and one for Joe Kase's article on the exploitation of Ecuadorean Indians.

Prince Charles was visiting a London inner-city project when a well-wisher told him she had met his estranged wife, Diana. Charles paused briefly, smiled and said: "You lived to tell the tale, did you?" The remark may not enhance the popularity of the 45-year-old prince, which has plunged since the couple's separation.

Jimmy Swaggart has agreed to pay \$1.85 million to end his mudslinging battle with a fellow TV evangelist, Marvin Gorman. Gorman sued Swaggart for defamation, seeking \$90 million, after the two swapped sexual misconduct allegations in the 1980s. Gorman won a \$6.6 million verdict in 1991, but it was overturned on appeal.

INTERNATIONAL CLASSIFIED

Appears on Pages 10 & 12

WEATHER

Forecast for Friday through Sunday, as provided by Accu-Weather.

Europe	Today	High	Low	Temp	Wind	Humidity	Pressure
Algeria	25/27	14/27	25/27	17/20	pc		
Amsterdam	19/28	5/11	22/21	7/24	ah		
Antwerp	21/20	11/22	22/21	12/25	pc		
Athens	21/20	13/25	22/21	16/21	pc		
Bamako	19/28	9/18	21/20	12/23	pc		
Batumi	18/24	11/22	20/28	11/22	pc		
Bucharest	20/28	11/22	22/21	13/26	pc		
Brussels	19/24	9/18	21/20	12/23	pc		
Copenhagen	18/28	10/20	21/20	17/22	ah		
Cairo	24/25	18/28	25/27	18/24	pc		
Cardiff	17/22	9/18	21/20	12/23	pc		
Edinburgh	13/25	9/18	16/21	7/24	pc		
Geneva	21/20	12/23	22/21	14/27	pc		
Hamburg	17/22	9/18	21/20	12/23	pc		
Heidelberg	13/25	9/18	16/21	7/24	pc		
London	18/24	11/22	21/20	12/23	pc		
Madrid	27/22	12/23	27/28	14/27	pc		
Moscow	22/21	14/27	25/27	16/21	pc		
Munich	17/22	9/18	21/20	12/23	pc		
Nairobi	19/28	9/18	21/20	12/23	pc		
Paris	18/24	9/18	21/20	12/23	pc		
Rangoon	21/20	12/23	22/21	14/27	pc		
Rome	19/28	10/20	21/20	12/23	pc		
Seoul	21/20	12/23	22/21	14/27	pc		
Stockholm	13/25	9/18	16/21	7/24	pc		
Taipei	21/20	12/23	22/21	14/27	pc		
Tokyo	19/28	9/18	21/20	12/23	pc		
Warsaw	18/24	9/18	21/20	12/23	pc		
Zurich	20/28	13/25	24/26	14/27	pc		



North America: Showers and thunderstorms will sweep eastward across Pittsburgh, Philadelphia and New York City Friday. The weekend will be dry and cool. Showers and thunderstorms may blossom over the southern Plains into the weekend. Snow will fall through the Rockies, while cold weather prevails Canada.

Europe: Paris through London will have dry, mild weather Friday into the weekend. Southwestern France and the Iberian peninsula will be sunny and very warm through the coming weekend. An area of cool weather will be confined to Scandinavia.

Legend: s-sunny, pc-partly cloudy, c-cloudy, sh-showers, th-thunderstorms, r-rain, ah-atmospheric haze, dr-dry, W-weather. All maps, forecasts and data provided by Accu-Weather, Inc. © 1994

Asia	Today	High	Low	Temp	Wind	Humidity	Pressure
Bangkok	34/33	24/27	34/33	28/78	ah		
Beijing	28/22	14/27	28/28	17/23	pc		
Calcutta	28/27	21/20	28/28	21/70	ah		
Hong Kong	28/27	21/20	28/28	21/70	ah		
Manila	28/27	21/20	28/28	21/70	ah		
New Delhi	28/27	21/20	28/28	21/70	ah		
Seoul	21/20	12/23	22/21	14/27	pc		
Shanghai	28/27	21/20	28/28	21/70	ah		
Singapore	30/28	22/27	32/28	28/78	pc		
Taipei	21/20	12/23	22/21	14/27	pc		
Tokyo	17/22	9/18	21/20	12/23	pc		

Africa	Today	High	Low	Temp	Wind	Humidity	Pressure
Cairo	21/20	12/23	22/21	14/27	pc		
Cape Town	18/24	9/18	21/20	12/23	pc		
Durban	28/27	21/20	28/28	21/70	ah		
Harare	28/27	21/20	28/28	21/70	ah		
London	18/24	9/18	21/20	12/23	pc		
Nairobi	19/28	9/18	21/20	12/23	pc		
Rangoon	21/20	12/23	22/21	14/27	pc		
Taipei	21/20	12/23	22/21	14/27	pc		
Tokyo	19/28	9/18	21/20	12/23	pc		

North America	Today	High	Low	Temp	Wind	Humidity	Pressure
Anchorage	12/24	6/23	12/24	1/24	pc		
Atlanta	31/28	18/24	31/28	18/24	ah		
Boston	17/22	9/18	21/20	12/23	pc		
Chicago	19/28	10/20	21/20	12/23	pc		
Denver	17/22	9/18	21/20	12/23	pc		
Houston	28/27	21/20	28/28	21/70	ah		
Los Angeles	21/20	12/23	22/21	14/27	pc		
Madison	17/22	9/18	21/20	12/23	pc		
Miami	28/27	21/20	28/28	21/70	ah		
Minneapolis	17/22	9/18	21/20	12/23	pc		
Moscow	22/21	14/27	25/27	16/21	pc		
New York	28/27	21/20	28/28	21/70	ah		
Phoenix	28/27	21/20	28/28	21/70	ah		
San Francisco	28/27	21/20	28/28	21/70	ah		
Seattle	18/24	9/18	21/20	12/23	pc		
Taipei	21/20	12/23	22/21	14/27	pc		
Tokyo	19/28	9/18	21/20	12/23	pc		
Washington	28/27	21/20	28/28	21/70	ah		

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ACROSS

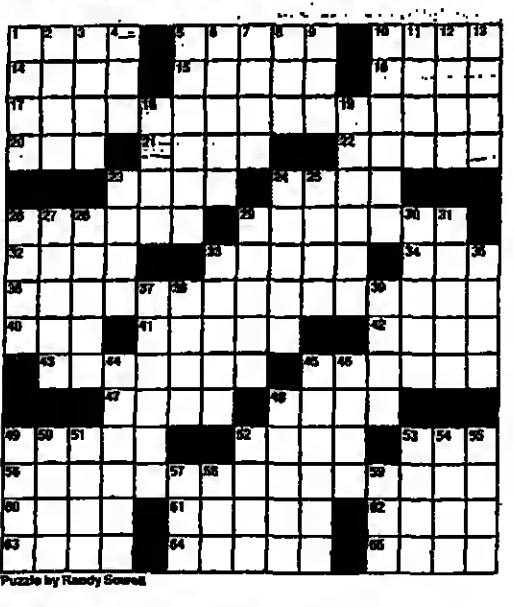
- 1 Instance
- 2 Kind of metabolism
- 3 Loading site
- 4 "I'm sorry" - forgive our debtors
- 5 Get the lead out?
- 6 "The Cherry Orchard" miss
- 7 17th-century poet (whose name shares a feature with 36 and 56-Across)
- 8 Room to —

Solution to Puzzle of April 27

SCAT ALIA VPRES
HUGO COAX ELECT
AJAX COME BAMOA
HOSTERBLESSING
CLUE AIM
IMBIBE DETRACTS
MOLTO MICA LEI
PLAYWRIGHTSFEAR
ELI ELITO ERASE
LYRICIST JERRED
ROAD KIDS
ACCOUNTANTSHOPE
ROANS OVEN MILK
TOSEF NILE ALOE
STAIRS TOLY NYPD

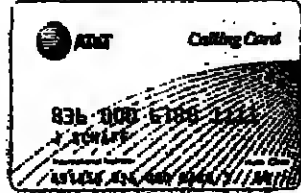
DOWN

- 9 Rough posting for a foreign correspondent
- 10 Illegal firing
- 11 Processes lumber
- 12 Quiet color
- 13 Drama actor Christopher
- 14 Traverse a beat
- 15 "To Live and Die"
- 16 Looked at '45
- 17 Comic Marthe
- 18 Ancient land of Spain
- 19 Leader of '45
- 20 Around
- 21 Eye-on tests?
- 22 Ocean floor
- 23 Ken-L-Ration competitor
- 24 Oueg's command
- 25 Fish basket
- 26 Wear
- 27 "Oldsham" aunt
- 28 Singer Reese
- 29 Vista
- 30 Realizes
- 31 Not hands-on
- 32 Tied
- 33 Low-fat desserts
- 34 Picks
- 35 Spanish



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COUNTRY	ACCESS NUMBER	COUNTRY	ACCESS NUMBER	COUNTRY	ACCESS NUMBER
ASIA/PACIFIC					
Australia	0014-881-011	Ireland	1-800-550-000	Colombia	900-11-0010
China, PRC***	10811	Italy	172-1011	Costa Rica**	1114
Guam	018-872	Lebanon**	155-00-11	Ecuador	119
Hong Kong	800-1111	Lithuania*	84-196	El Salvador**	190
India*	000-117	Luxembourg	0-800-0111	Guatemala*	150
Indonesia**	001-801-10	Malta*	0800-890-110	Guyana**	165
Japan*	0039-111	Monaco*	194-0011	Honduras**	129
Korea	009-11	Netherlands*	06-022-0111	Mexico***	95-800-462-4200
Korea**	11*	Norway	800-190-11	Nicaragua (Managua)	174
Malaysia*	800-0011	Poland**	04010-480-0111	Panama	109
New Zealand	800-011	Portugal*	09017-1-288	Peru*	191
Philippines*	105-11	Romania	01-600-4288	Suriname	156
Singapore	800-0111-111	Russia** (Moscow)	155-5042	Uruguay	00-0410
Sri Lanka	430-430	Slovakia	00-420-00101	Venezuela**	80-017-120
Taiwan*	0080-10288-0	Spain	900-99-00-11		
Thailand*	0019-911-111	Sweden*	020-795-611	CARIBBEAN	
		Switzerland**	155-00-11	Bahamas	1-800-872-2881
		U.K.	0500-89-0011	Bermuda*	1-800-872-2881
EUROPE				British V.I.	1-800-872-2881
Argentina**	84-14111	Bahrain	800-001	Cayman Islands	1-800-872-2881
Austria***	022-903-011	Cyprus*	080-00010	Grenada*	1-800-872-2881
Belgium**	078-111-0010	Israel	177-100-2747	Haiti*	001-800-972-2883
Bulgaria	00-1800-0010	Kuwait	800-288	Jamaica*	0-800-872-2881
Croatia**	99-38-0011	Lebanon (Beirut)	426-801	Neth. Antil	001-800-872-2881
Czech Rep.	00-420-00101	Saudi Arabia	1-800-100	S. Kitts/Nevis	1-800-872-2881
Denmark*	8001-0010	Turkey	00-800-12277		
Finland*	9800-100-10			AFRICA	
France	194-0011	Argentina**	001-800-200-1111	Egypt* (Cairo)	510-0200
Germany	0130-0010	Belize*	555	Gabon*	004-0011
Greece*	00-800-1321	Bolivia*	0-800-1111	Gambia*	00111
Hungary*	004-800-01111	Brazil	000-8010	Kenya*	0800-10
Ireland**	999-001	Chile	004-0312	Liberia	797-7977
				Malawi**	101-1992

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